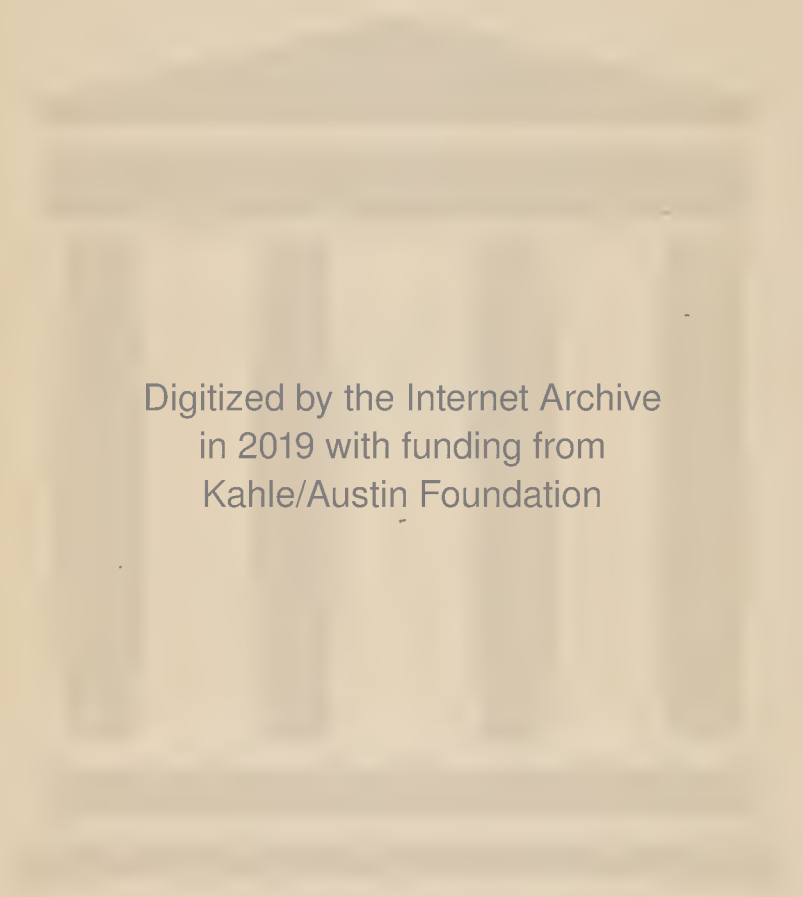


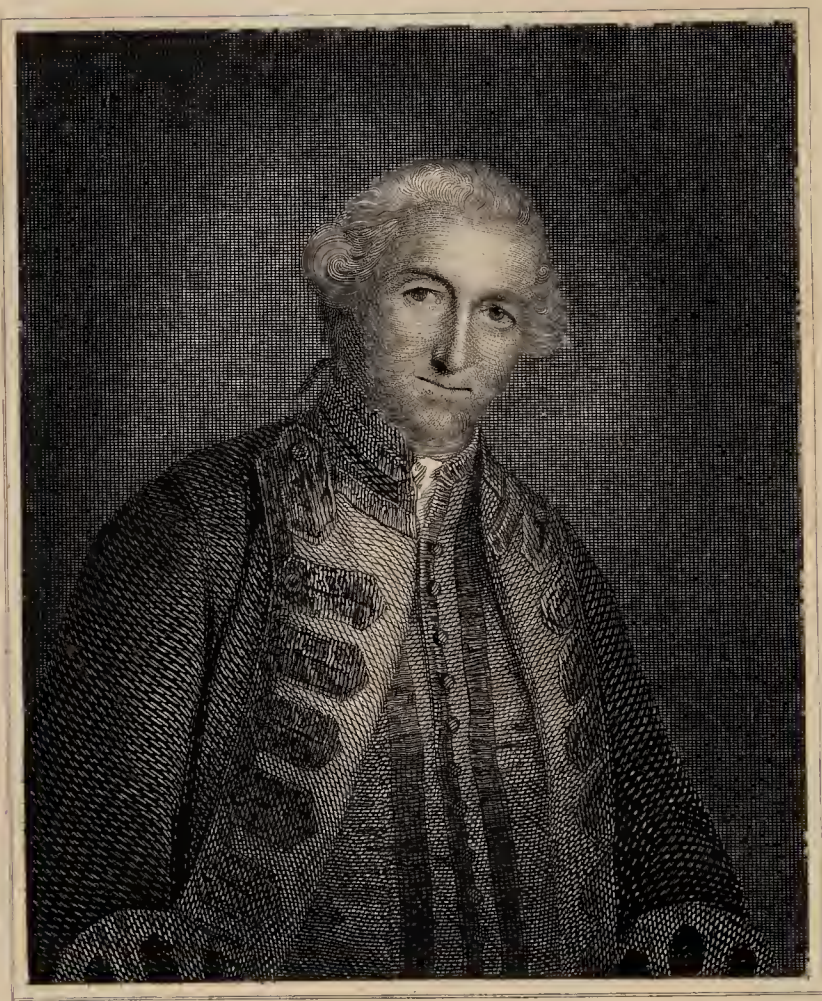
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THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD BOSCAWEN,

Admiral of the Blue.

*Engraved by J. T. Wedgwood from the Original in the possession
of the Right Hon. Lord Tralmouth.*

LIVES
OF THE
BRITISH ADMIRALS:

CONTAINING ALSO

A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

CONTINUED TO THE YEAR 1779,

BY

DR. BERKENHOUT.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED,

AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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PREFACE.

AS some apology is necessary for the great delay which has taken place in the publication of the present volume of this work, it is proper to state, that it has been owing entirely to the death of Mr. REDHEAD YORKE, and to the length of time which unavoidably intervened between that event, and the preparation and arrangements which the new Editors had to make.

In order both to accelerate the publication, and to render the work more accurate and complete, it was judged expedient, that the Biographical and the Historical departments should be executed by different persons. The present volume is entirely confined to Biography. This deviation from the original plan of Dr. CAMPBELL was rendered necessary by the circumstance, that no Biography is given in the volume edited by Dr. BERKENHOUT.

Another deviation from the original plan was also determined on: the lives written by Dr. CAMPBELL are very short and meagre, but very nu-

merous. In the present volume, a selection has been made of the lives of those naval characters which presented the most ample, or the most interesting materials for Biography.

Besides the lives of the most illustrious of those seamen, who flourished during the period comprised in Dr. BERKENHOUT'S portion of the work, a few others have been given, which had been omitted by Dr. CAMPBELL.

The Editor of the present volume has been indebted to a friend for the lives of Anson, Hawke, and Byron.

W. STEVENSON.

C O N T E N T S

OF

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LIVES
OF
THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING
A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER.

WILLIAM DAMPIER, a celebrated navigator, was born at East Coker, in Somersetshire, in the year 1652: his parents appear to have been persons of some property; and one of his brothers possessed an estate in that county. His thoughts and inclination were early directed to a sea-faring life, but what gave them this direction, we are not informed; probably, as East Coker was then, as it still is, a place of considerable note for the manufacture of sail cloth, this circumstance may, in some measure, have conduced to instil into the mind of young Dampier a longing to go to sea. During the life of his parents, he either concealed this longing, or they were not disposed to satisfy it; for they educated him in such a manner, as would fit him for some trade: on their decease, however, which happened while he was very young, those who had afterwards the disposal of him removed him from the Latin school, to learn writing and arithmetic; and soon

afterwards placed him with the master of a ship at Weymouth: his first voyage was to France, his next to Newfoundland; but in this latter voyage, the extreme severity of the climate was either so disagreeable to his feelings, or so prejudicial to his health, that he was absolutely determined against going again to that part of the world. For a short time afterwards he remained at home; but becoming weary of this mode of life, he went to London, where, to use his own words, “the offer of a warm voyage “and a long one,” both which he always desired, soon carried him to sea again. He accordingly entered himself before the mast on board of an outward-bound East India-man, which sailed directly for Bantam, in the isle of Java. During this voyage, he considerably increased his nautical skill and experience, but kept no journal. Soon after his return to Plymouth from the East Indies, the second Dutch war commenced,—it was occasioned by our unprovoked attack on their Smyrna fleet; in consequence of the breaking out of hostilities, Dampier declined going to sea, and spent the summer with his brother in Somersetshire: but he again soon grew weary of staying ashore, and entered on board of the Royal Prince, commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, and served under him during the last year of the Dutch war: in the course of this time, three battles were fought, in two of which he was; but falling sick a day or two before the third engagement, he was sent to Harwich, and not speedily recovering his health, he was afterwards permitted to go to his native county. With the return of his health, his inclination for the sea returned, and the Dutch war being now finished, he accepted the offer of Colonel Hellier, a native of the same parish with him, to manage one of his plantations in Jamaica, which was under the care of a Mr. Whalley. At this time he was twenty-two years old, and as there was some danger that he might be trepanned and sold as a servant after his arrival in the island, to prevent this,

he was nominally bound to the captain of the vessel in which he was to go out, to work as a seaman, having it under his hand to be cleared as soon as he landed. He sailed from the river Thames in the beginning of 1674, and, after a voyage which offered nothing interesting or important, he arrived in Jamaica with the first intelligence of the termination of hostilities with the Dutch. Being immediately discharged from his contract, he set out for Colonel Hellier's plantation: the road to this was formerly very tedious and difficult, as well as long, from Spanish Town; the new road was discovered by rather a singular circumstance. Colonel Hellier's brother being desirous, if possible, to shorten the road, was exploring the country for that purpose, when a dog that belonged to him finding a hole to creep through a rock, which was very high, and nearly perpendicular, suggested to him that there was a hollow passage: this was accordingly found, and by means of gunpowder was rendered sufficiently large to admit a loaded pack: it is now called the Hollow Rock. Dampier lived at Colonel Hellier's plantation for six months, when he removed to the north side of the island, to undertake the management of another plantation at St. Anne's; but neither the nature of the employment, nor the circumstance of his living so long on shore, suited him; he therefore returned to sea, and in several coasting voyages round Jamaica, made himself thoroughly acquainted with all its ports and bays, with the different manufactures, and with the seasons and benefits of the land and sea winds. Having gained this useful and important knowledge, and being tired with the uniformity of the voyage, he sailed from Port Royal in the beginning of August, 1675, for the bay of Campeachy, to engage in the logwood trade. As this voyage was all before the wind, it was made in about fourteen days; the coasting part of it Dampier describes with his usual minuteness and accuracy of detail, pointing out the

bearings, appearances, and nature of the different headlands and bays. To the west of Cape Catoch, he was struck with a remarkable high land, called the Mount; from the information he collected, he was disposed to think it was not natural, but artificial, as on that part of the main land there is a great deal of earth, which yields saltpetre: the Spaniards used to collect this earth, and pack it up in palmeto leaves; it was afterwards sent to Campeachy, and employed in the manufacture of gunpowder: the Mount is supposed to have been of their raising. Between Cape Catoch and Cape Concededo is a river, on the banks of which an Indian village stood; the inhabitants of this village were very expert fishermen, but were become very shy, in consequence of having been frequently kidnapped by the privateers and logwood ships; when, therefore, at sea they descried a vessel, they sunk their canoes even with the edge of the water, for the canoes were either made of such a kind of wood, or constructed in such a manner, that when they were full of water they would sink no lower; in this situation the Indians lay fast, with their heads above water. Dampier had an opportunity of seeing them under sail, and thus vanishing all on a sudden. The ship in which he was, came to an anchor at a place called One-Bush-Key, in the Isle of Trist; here the bottom was so very soft, that they were obliged to shoe their anchors, to make them hold.

For the purchase of logwood, they had brought out a considerable quantity of rum and sugar: soon after they came to anchor, the logwood cutters, who were then about two hundred and fifty, mostly English, visited them; they were a frolicksome set, and besides the liquor which they got for their logwood, expected to be treated with punch, and to have the small arms fired when their healths were drank. Dampier soon gained such a knowledge of the trade, as convinced him, that though a-labe-

rious, it was a lucrative one; but before he settled it, he resolved to return to Jamaica. Accordingly, about the end of September, 1675, they sailed from One-Bush-Key; they took thirteen weeks in their passage, their vessel being so sluggish a sailer, that she could not ply to windward. In this voyage they had a passenger, who was the means of saving the ship; for on the third day after their departure, they discovered two sail coming towards them, and the captain, supposing they belonged to Jamaica, would have lain to; but the passenger convinced him that they were Spanish vessels, sent out to capture all ships that were engaged in the contraband logwood trade: upon this they edged more off to sea, and the strange vessels immediately pursued them; but being favoured by the wind, and other circumstances, Dampier and his companions escaped the horrors and barbarity of Spanish captivity. Before they got quite clear of the shore of Jucatan, they were in still greater danger: Dampier was at the helm from six o'clock in the evening till eight; the vessel steered very ill, but nothing occurred to excite suspicion or alarm for the first three glasses; at the expiration of this time, the sea, which had hitherto been very rough, became all on a sudden perfectly smooth; the ship steered well, and made good way through the water. Dampier was extremely surprised at this extraordinary and unexpected change, and endeavoured, but in vain, to discover the cause of it. As the weather was very warm, all the men had laid down on the deck, and fallen fast asleep; the captain also was asleep on the quarter-deck, just behind Dampier. In the midst of his musings and conjectures respecting the sudden alteration in the sea, the vessel struck on a rock with such force, that the whipstaff threw him down on his back: the noise of his fall and his loud exclamations, together with the beating of the vessel against the rock, awakened the captain and crew; luckily, she soon got off, and then, on examining their

charts, they found they were entangled among the Alerane Islands: to the north of these a long ridge of rocks, bending in the form of a bow, stretches out; they are above water, joining very close to one another, except in one or two places, where there are passages about nine or ten yards wide; through one of these the ship had providentially sailed, just touching the rock as she passed. In consequence of a strong current, they were detained two or three days among these islands, and after their departure, their progress was so slow, that all their provisions were expended. Under these circumstances, a difference of opinion arose, whether they should continue their voyage to Jamaica; or put about before the wind for the South Keys. Dampier was strongly inclined to the former, but at last it was determined to steer for the South Keys: on this determination, he was so much dissatisfied, that he retired to his cabin; contrary to the opinion of most of his companions, he thought the passage to the South Keys, even with a fair wind, would be longer than the passage to Jamaica; and he was firmly convinced, that if they did speedily arrive at the former place, they would find it impossible to procure provisions. That their provisions had lasted so long, was owing to a mere accident; they had carried out with them two barrels of beef for sale, but they were in such a bad condition, that nobody would purchase them; on these, black and unsavoury as they were, they were obliged to live. Dampier had in vain endeavoured to persuade his companions, that when they resolved to alter their course, they were in fact near Jamaica, though the obscurity of the weather prevented them from seeing it; and he was right in his opinion, for he had scarcely been in his cabin three glasses, before land was descried. The next day, having a brisk wind from the N. W. a kind of what the sailors in the West Indies call a chocolate gale, they arrived at Port Royal.

About the middle of February, 1676, Dampier having provided himself with every thing necessary for the logwood trade, such as hatchets, axes, machetes or long knives, saws, wires, &c. a pavilion to sleep in, a gun, with powder and shot, &c. sailed from Jamaica for the bay of Campeachy. He soon arrived in the west creek of the west lagune, where he settled himself with some old logwood cutters. The logwood trade had formerly been carried on at a Salina not far from Campeachy, whence the wood was called by the Spaniards Palo de Campeachy; *i. e.* the wood of Campeachy; but at the time when Dampier was there, the Spaniards cut it about ten or twelve leagues to the leeward of Campeachy: the wood was then worth ninety, one hundred, or one hundred and ten pounds per ton; and the wages given by him to the Indians who cut it was a ryal a day. Almost immediately after the English took Jamaica, their privateers cruised in the bay of Campeachy against the Spaniards, where they found many vessels laden with logwood; but as they were totally ignorant of its value or use, they either set them adrift, or burnt them: the importance of this commodity was at last discovered by a Captain James, who having captured a vessel laden with it, and being desirous of fitting her out for a privateer, brought her and the cargo to England, where the wood, beyond his expectation, sold at a great rate, although he esteemed it of so little value, that he had burnt it as fire-wood during his passage home. The English in Jamaica, informed of this circumstance, soon made themselves acquainted with the trees, as growing; and notwithstanding the jealous watchfulness of the Spaniards, participated largely in the trade. At first, they found immense forests of it at Cape Catoch; and when these were nearly exhausted, they removed to the lagune of Trist, in the bay of Campeachy, where they were when Dampier joined them. It is probable, however, that no very great number of adventurers would

have embarked in this traffic, had not the privateering trade decayed; in consequence of this, the masters and crews turned their thoughts to cutting logwood, and the habits and manners of a seafaring life being engrafted on those which this new trade required and produced, a singular character was thus formed. For a considerable length of time they could not settle to the dry and laborious employment of cutting wood, and as they were good marksmen, they took more delight in hunting; neither could they soon forget their old habits and disposition to plunder, and therefore they often sallied out in small parties against the neighbouring Indian villages; these they plundered, bringing away the women to serve them in their huts, and sending the men to be sold at Jamaica. Whenever any vessel came for logwood, a scene of drinking and carousing took place, as they would spend thirty or forty pounds at a sitting, drinking and firing off guns for three or four days together. It was in vain that more sober and industrious men arrived; in a very short time they became equally idle, negligent, and debauched, till at last the Spaniards taking advantage of their careless rioting, fell suddenly upon and carried them away prisoners. The next race of settlers being men of different habits and disposition, and being moreover warned by the fate of their predecessors, acted with more prudence, and attended to their business in a more regular and industrious manner.

The logwood tree grows best on low, wet land, near the sea, at the lagunes; it is not unlike the white thorn, but considerably larger: the old black rinded trees are preferred, for as they have less sap, they require less labour; the sap is white, the heart red: as the latter only is used for dying, it is necessary to cut away all the sap; after it has been cut a little white, it turns black, and dyes water like ink. The trees run from two to six feet in circumference; the wood is of great specific gravity, it burns

very well, and makes a strong, clear, and lasting fire. Dampier mentions that it was always the practice to harden the stocks of their fire-arms in a logwood fire, if they could get it. The logwood cutters built their huts close to the side of the creeks, for the benefit of the sea breezes; they were made very slight, but thatched well with palm or palmetto leaves to keep off the rain. For their bedding they raised a wooden frame three feet and a half above the ground, and on this they fastened their pavilions; another frame was raised and covered with earth, in order to dress their victuals upon; and a third to sit at when they ate. During the wet season, the ground on which the logwood grew was so overflowed, that they stepped from their beds two feet deep into the water; but this season they reckoned the best for their business, as they had then no temptation to leave their work. At the head of each company one man presided, who, as a mark of his superiority, chipped off the sap; the rest felled the trees, and cut them into convenient pieces. The surest method of getting good bargains from them, was to treat them liberally and plentifully with punch; if they suspected that any of the captains of the Jamaica ships were niggardly, they paid them with the worst wood, and generally they had a stock of such laid by for the express purpose; others went still further, hollowing out the wood, and filling the middle with dirt, while both ends were plugged up with a piece of good wood, driven in hard, and sawed off so neatly, that the deceit could not easily be detected. It was one of their regulations to work hard all the week, till Saturday; that day they employed in hunting, and providing themselves with beef for the following week: on their return from these hunting expeditions, they made a most singular and grotesque appearance; when they had killed a cow, they cut it into quarters, and taking out all the bones, each man made a hole in the middle of his quarter, just big

enough for his head to go through ; he then put it on like a frock, and trudged home ; in case he should find his burden too heavy, and become tired on the way, he cut some of it off, and left it behind him. Besides hunting the cattle on land, they pursued this diversion, or rather necessary employment, some time in canoes ; they first drove the cattle into the lagunes, and then pursued them in their canoes ; the beasts being hard pressed, and not able to escape, were obliged to turn about, and by striking against the bow of the boat, drove her back ; they then scampered away again, but if they were wounded, they followed the boat till they were knocked down.

Dampier united himself with a company of six, who had engaged to cut one hundred tons of logwood ; this they had already accomplished, but it was not yet brought down to the creek's side : as the carriage was the hardest and the least honorable employment, he was hired to help them in, at the rate of a ton of wood per month, and promised that after the carriage was over, he should " strike in" to work with them. On the first Sunday, the master of the company sent him to drive the cattle out of the savannas into the woods, where some men were concealed to shoot them ; but on the following Saturday, thinking it more honour to try his own skill in shooting than only to drive the game for others to shoot at, he went into a savanna, with a design to kill a beef himself, but he soon lost himself in the woods. As the sun was at this time near the zenith, he could not distinguish by it, how to direct his course ; and by sun-set, though he had got clear of the savanna, he was at a considerable distance from his place of residence ; he, however, pushed forward, but being overtaken by the night, he was obliged to lay himself down on the grass, where he could not get any sleep for the moschettoes. At day-break he pursued what he thought his proper course, and soon had the satisfaction

of perceiving a hat stuck upon a pole, which had been set there by his companions, as a mark of the vicinity of the place to their residence: shortly after, he was joined by them, when they congratulated him on his good fortune, as several men had been lost in the woods, and never heard of afterwards.

As soon as he had completed his month's service, he received his ton of logwood, and was entertained as a companion by his former master; some of his comrades, however, tired of their laborious life, went to Beef Island, to kill bullocks, for the sake of their hides: in order to dry and preserve these, they fastened them down to the ground very tight with pegs; they then turned the fleshy part, and afterwards the hair upwards, till they were completely dry, taking great care, every three or four weeks, to beat off the worms which breed in, and would destroy the hides. Dampier soon perceived that the companions with whom he was associated, were strongly disposed to be idle, and that if he meant to make money by his new employment, he must not depend upon them; he therefore kept close to his work by himself, till he was attacked by worms in his legs: at first he could not conceive what was the matter with him, till at last being informed, he applied a plaster, which brought out the worms; as soon as they appeared, he rolled them upon a small stick, and every morning and evening pulled out about two inches at a time, till at last he had drawn out about two feet; still, however, he was much incommoded and pained; and was not radically and permanently relieved, till he met with a negro, who for the fee of a white cock, by the application of a little rough powder, which looked like tobacco leaves, the worms were completely eradicated. Scarcely was he relieved from this misfortune, when another, much more serious, overtook him and all the logwood cutters. In the month of June, 1676, a most dreadful and destructive hurricane arose. Dampier was at

this time cutting logwood, in the western creek of the west lagoon: two days before the storm began, the wind suddenly shifted round to the south; in this quarter it continued for a very short time, when it returned to the east, and blew very gently: there was no appearance of the approaching storm; on the contrary, to those not accustomed to the climate, every thing seemed to indicate the continuance of fine weather. Soon, however, the scene changed; the men-of-war birds, contrary to their usual habits, hovered over the land in great numbers: but the circumstance which arrested Dampier's attention the most forcibly, and excited his wonder and astonishment, was, that the water kept ebbing for two days together, without any flood, till the creek became almost dry. The depth was nearly seven or eight feet at low water, but before the hurricane, there was not above three, even in the middle of the creek. On the second day of this unusual appearance, about four o'clock, the sky looked black, and the wind began to blow fresh from the south-east: in less than two hours time, it became a perfect hurricane; all the huts, except one, were blown down; in this remaining one, after having propped it up with posts, and having thrown ropes over the ridge, to secure the roof, Dampier and his companions took shelter. The hurricane was accompanied with a violent rain, and within two hours after the wind sprung up, the water flowed into the creek very fast, so that the next morning it was higher than it had ever been observed before: this was a circumstance which particularly struck Dampier, since the wind blowing off the shore, was directly against the flowing of the water into the creek. The storm continued all day, and the night following, till ten o'clock; it then began to abate, and by two in the morning it was entirely over.

It was in vain now to think of continuing the business of cutting logwood, or even of remaining where they were; nearly all the trees in the neighbourhood were

blown down, and thrown in such directions, as to render the country impassable; besides, the highest land near them, was almost three feet under water; most of their provisions was spoiled, and what was fit to eat, they had no means or opportunity of cooking. They therefore embarked in their course for One-Bush-Key, where they found a merchant vessel, commanded by Captain Chandler, on board of which they went. After spending some time with him, they set off for Beef island, for the purpose of hunting: here Dampier, to use his own words, "was surprised with an odd accident." Passing through a small savanna, they smelt a strong scent of an alligator, and soon afterwards, Dampier stumbled over one, and fell down immediately: he cried out for help, but his comrades, instead of assisting him, ran away towards the woods; as soon as he got up, he stumbled on the alligator a second time and a third time also, but the animal took no notice of him. This incident confirms an observation which Dampier makes on another occasion, that the alligators here, are not so fierce as they are reported to be in other places.

As Dampier had not sufficient money to replace the stock of provisions that he had lost by the hurricane, he was forced to range about, and seek a subsistence with some privateers then in the bay of Campeachy: while he was with them, he visited all the rivers from Trist to Alvarado, and made many descents into the country, among the Indian villages, and as wherever he was, or on whatever business employed, he was always vigilant and acute in his observations, and lost no opportunity of gaining information; he was thus enabled to acquire an accurate and extensive knowledge of the face of the country, its trade, natural productions, &c. all of which he has described in his usual perspicuous and strong language. During these expeditions, he landed with the rest of the crew, at Alvarado, and having plundered the place, they

stored the ship full of it; even the parrots did not escape them, so that a short time after their departure, when they were attacked by seven armed illoes, sent from Mal-ling expressly against them, they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their plunder overboard; by this means, and the favourable circumstance of their ship lying nearer the wind than the enemy, they escaped, after exchanging a few shots.

As soon as he had procured a sufficient stock of provisions, he found the logwood men again, and continued in this trade about ten or twelve months; by this time he was pretty well acquainted with it, and had acquired considerable property by it: he therefore resolved to return to England, probably with a view to invest his property in land, meaning, however, as he expressly states, to come back to Campeachy. He sailed from Trist the beginning of April, 1678, arrived in Jamaica in May, where he continued a short time, and then sailed for England, where he arrived in the beginning of August the same year.

In the beginning of 1679, he set out from England in a merchant vessel, bound for Jamaica, taking some goods with him, in order, at that island to purchase rum and sugar for the logwood trade. When, however he arrived in Jamaica, he changed his intention, for what reason, or with what view, he does not state, and continued there the remainder of the year. It is probable that during his stay, he was engaged in some kind of trade, as he was enabled to purchase a small estate in that part of Dorsetshire, which bordered on his native country. Having made this purchase, he was on the point of sailing for England, when he received a tempting offer to go the Mosquito shore: he accordingly left Jamaica for this purpose, but the vessel having put into a bay at the west end of the island, where there were several privateers, the crew at first, and afterward Dampier were persuaded to go with

them. These privateers were in reality, pirates, or buccaneers, a refuse of various nations, English, French and Dutch, who, under pretence of reprisals, undertook pillaging expeditions against the settlements and commerce of the Spaniards, without any regular commission from their respective powers. The first expedition on which these privateers went, after Dampier joined them, was against Porto Bello; in this they succeeded, when the bold thought seized them of marching by land across the Isthmus of Darien, upon some new adventure in the South Seas; accordingly, on the 5th of April, 1680, between three and four hundred of them landed, carrying provisions and toys for the Indians. In their passage, they took Santa Maria, and having reached the south coasts, embarked in canoes, furnished them by the Indians. On the 23d of the month, they came near Panama, but having attacked Puebla Nueva in vain, and having lost on this occasion, several of their men and Captain Sawkings, who acted as their leader, they resolved to direct their course to the southern coast of Peru; in this enterprise, which does not seem to have been very successful, nor to have offered any adventure or incident of interest or importance, they spent the remainder of the year. In December, they reached the Isle of Juan Fernandez; and while they were here, they resolved to displace Captain Sharp, who had been appointed commander, on the death of Captain Sawking's. These adventurers, both from the nature of the enterprise, in which they were embarked, and from their own disposition, habits, and manners, absolutely required for their leader and commander, a man of undoubted courage, and of a vigorous and active body and mind. Sharp was deficient in these respects, and failing to command respect and obedience, he was displaced; he was succeeded by Captain Watling. They spent their Christmas in Juan Fernandez, and then directed their course again to the north; their first attempt was

against Arica, a strong town, advantageously situated in the hollow of the bending of the Peruvian coast: here they were repulsed with great loss, their new commander, Captain Watling being killed. From this time, till the middle of April, when they arrived in the isle of Plata, they were without a commander; during this period, Sharp seems to have ingratiated himself with the "meaner sort," who began to be as earnest for choosing him to fill up the vacancy, as they before had been forward to turn him out; but the more able and experienced men, were decidedly averse to his resolution: great differences arose, and as they could not settle them, it was resolved when they came to the isle of Plata, to "part companies, having first made an agreement, that which party soever should upon polling, appear to have the majority, they should keep the ship, and the other should content themselves with the launch, or long boat, and canoes, and return back over the Isthmas, or go to seek their fortunes otherways as they would." Upon putting the question to the vote, Captain Sharp's party carried it. Dampier did not give his vote, but never having been pleased with the management of the new commander, he declared himself on the side of those who were outvoted, and willing to share their fate.

On the 17th of April, 1681, Dampier and his companions, left the ship, and embarked in the launch and canoes, with the intention of sailing for the river of Santa Maria, in the gulph of St. Michael, a distance of about two hundred leagues. The party consisted of forty-four white men, well armed; a Spanish Indian, also armed; two Mosquito Indians, and five slaves, part of those whom they had taken in the South Seas. Besides the launch, and one canoe, they had another canoe, which had been sawn asunder, for the purpose of making water casks for the ship; this they joined in the best manner they were able. With respect to provisions, they had between twenty

and thirty pounds of chocolate, rubbed up with sugar, and as much flower, as they could conveniently stow away in their boats, or carry, when they landed.

In order, as much as possible, to prevent the Spaniards from discovering their route, and overtaking them, they declared, that if any of the company, from whatever cause, or with whatever motive, “faultered in the journey, he must expect to be shot:” probably by this menace, also, they expected to deter the weak or inactive from going on an expedition, which absolutely required a great portion both of bodily and mental strength: none, however, were deterred. Having landed, they began their march on the 1st of May, about three o’clock in the afternoon, directing their course by their pocket compasses north-east. In the evening of the second day, they met with an Indian, who, for a hatchet, agreed to conduct them to the house of another Indian, who understood Spanish, and who was capable of putting them on their proper course. When, however, they arrived at his habitation, and explained to him their wishes and expectations, he was by no means disposed to advise or assist them, but on the contrary, they suspected, from his discourse, that he was desirous of delivering them into the hands of the Spaniards. They used every endeavour, and had recourse to every means which they thought likely to obtain his good will, and assistance, but he continued obstinate, and replied in an angry tone; it was not their policy to irritate or injure him, and yet it was absolutely necessary, either by threats or bribes, to secure him as their guide. At last, one of Dampier’s companions took a sky colored petticoat out of his bag, and put it on the Indian’s wife; she was so exceedingly delighted with this present, that she immediately began to address her husband with much zeal and earnestness, and soon persuaded him to agree to conduct the adventurers, or at least to procure them a conductor; for having cut his foot, a few days before; he was himself

incapable of marching. He accordingly hired them an Indian, who for a hatchet, went with them two days march further. Their journey now began to be very hazardous and fatiguing; during the fourth days march, they crossed the river thirty times. Dampier, in order to secure his journal, which he always kept with great care, regularity and minuteness, wherever he went, and whatever was the particular object of his expeditions, had provided himself, before he left the ship, with a large joint of bamboo, which he stopped at both ends, closing it with wax, so as to keep out the water; in this he preserved his journal and other writings. During the fifth day a very serious accident befel the surgeon, Mr. Wager; by the explosion of some powder, his knee was scorched in such a manner, that he could scarce keep company with them, and they were obliged to allow him a slave to carry his baggage; in a few days afterwards, he was under the necessity of staying behind, and did not rejoin them till near the end of their journey. Mr. Wager has written an account of the Isthmus of Darien, distinguished for the fidelity, accuracy and completeness of its details.

On the sixth day they crossed from the west side of the river Congo to the east; by this day's journey, they were so fatigued, that having fallen fast asleep, without keeping any watch, all their slaves except one, took the opportunity, and escaped. On the morning of the eighth day, it was necessary to cross a river, that was much swollen and very deep; in this attempt they lost one of their companions, and could not have succeeded, had not they felled a tree, which reached quite over, on which they passed to the other side. Nothing of importance occurred till the twentieth day of their expedition, on this they came to the river Cheapo, which was the last they met with, that ran into the South Seas; of course they knew that they were approaching the object of their wishes. On the twenty-third day, they procured canoes to carry

them down the river Concepcion, as far as the sea side; and soon afterwards, they arrived at La Sound's Key. Thus they completed their journey from the South Sea to the north, in twenty-three days; having travelled, according to Dampier's computation, one hundred and ten miles, crossing some very high mountains, or marching in vallies among deep and dangerous rivers. Had they been able to land, where they first proposed, their journey would have been both much shorter and less fatiguing and dangerous; since by going up the Santa Maria river, the passage from sea to sea, may be accomplished in three days with ease; but from this, their original plan, they were deterred, by the appearance of a Spanish vessel at the mouth of that river, and were consequently obliged to land where they could with safety.

At La Sound's Key, they went on board a French vessel commanded by Captain Tristran, and soon afterwards this ship joined a small fleet of privateers, French and English, which were preparing for a cruise. Within a very short time after they sailed, the vessels were dispersed in a storm; and Captain Wright with whom Dampier was resolved to stay, went to cruise in the West Indies: in this expedition they were not very successful, and he being tired of this way of life, with about twenty more, fitted up one of the prize vessels, and with their share of the plunder, sailed for Virginia. Here he continued till the month of August, 1683, where meeting with an old companion, Captain Cook, who was going on a privateering expedition to the South Seas, he resolved to accompany him: in this resolution, he was joined by those who had come to Virginia along with him: the whole crew consisted of about seventy men. On the 23d of August, they set sail, and they met with nothing worthy of observation till they reached the Cape Verde islands, except a terrible storm. In this storm, the ship appears to have been saved by a very simple expedient of one of the sailors: they were

scudding before the wind and sea, under bare poles; the ship, by the mistake of the person who conned, broached to, and lay in the hollow of the sea, which at this time was so tremendously high, that every wave threatened to overwhelm her, and if one had struck the deck, she must inevitably have foundered. The master, whose fault it was, raved like a madman, and called for an axe to cut the mizzen mast overboard; this, if it could have been effected, might have righted the ship, but the expedient was hazardous, and to be had recourse to only, if all other means failed. The quarter-master and the captain, therefore, objected to cutting away the mast, but could suggest no means of righting the ship. At this time the main and fore yards were lowered nearly down upon the deck, and the wind blew so fierce, that they durst not shew any head sail, as it would either have been immediately blown to rags, or the men would have been unable to furl it again. All the crew were in the greatest alarm; and the most experienced and judicious sailors among them, were totally at a loss how to act: the fate of the ship seemed indisputable, and they had given themselves utterly up for lost, when one of them suddenly called out to Dampier, "Come," said he, "let us go a little way up the fore shrouds, it may be, that may make the ship wear, for I have been doing it before now." He did not wait for an answer, but ran up immediately, and Dampier followed him; they went half shrouds up, and there spread abroad the flaps of their coats, and soon afterwards the ship wore: Dampier says, he thinks they did not stay in the shrouds three minutes, before they gained their point; the tremendous violence of the wind at this time may be judged of, from a circumstance that he notices; the mainsail got loose, and though the main yard was nearly level with the deck, and as many men as could lye on it, assisted by those on deck, were striving to furl the sail, yet they could not do it.

After staying a short time at the Cape de Verde islands, they proceeded to the southward, with an intention of not touching at any place, till they came to the straits of Magellan, but in this they were baffled, by the contrary winds which they met with; it was now necessary to steer for some port to refit and procure provisions; and after some deliberation, it was resolved to proceed to the coast of Guinea, where they came to an anchor in Sherborough river. Having taken in water and rice, in four days they set sail again, and resumed their course towards the straits of Magellan. Dampier was very averse to the passage of these straits; he was well acquainted with the danger attending it, even when a vessel was well found, and the crew skilful, expert, and completely under command; but he was apprehensive that the crew could not be found ready, at a minutes call, to come to an anchor; and unless they were thus active and obedient, he knew the straits could not be passed without much risk; he therefore endeavoured to dissuade Captain Cook from this design, but in vain; they made the attempt, but meeting with contrary winds, they were obliged to give it up, and go round by Cape Horn. Soon after they entered the South Seas, they met with an English vessel, commanded by Captain Eaton, and as they were both destined for Juan Fernandez, they sailed there together.

On the 22d of March, 1684, they came in sight of the island, which, from Dampier's account, had been the abode of a solitary individual before Selkirk; for in his former expedition into the South Seas, three years before, when Captain Watling was his commander, a short time before they went against Arica, being chased by three Spanish ships, they had been obliged to leave a Mosquito Indian on Juan Fernandez; upon their arrival in 1684, they were very anxious to ascertain his fate: as soon, therefore, as they anchored, a canoe was sent ashore,

in which another Mosquito Indian, named Robin, went. Dampier has described the meeting between these Indians in a very natural and impressive manner. “ When we
“ landed, Robin first leaped ashore, and running to his
“ brother Mosquito-man, threw himself flat on his face at
“ his feet, who helping him up and embracing him, fell
“ flat with his face on the ground at Robin’s feet, and
“ was by him taken up also. We stood with pleasure to
“ behold the surprise and tenderness, and solemnity of
“ this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on
“ both sides : and when their ceremonies of civility were
“ over, we also that stood gazing at them, drew near, each
“ of us embracing him we had found here, who was
“ overjoyed to see so many of his old friends come hither,
“ as he thought, purposely to fetch him.” When this
Indian was left on shore on Juan Fernandez, he had with
him his gun and a knife, with a small horn of powder and
shot : when these were spent, he ingeniously contrived,
by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun into
small pieces, and of these he made harpoons, lances,
hooks, and a large knife : in order to accomplish this, he
first heated the pieces in a fire, and then struck them with
his gun flint and a piece of the barrel of his gun, which
he had hardened ; the hot pieces of iron he hammered
and bent by means of stone, and sawed them with his
jagged knife, and he sometimes ground them to an edge.
With these instruments he contrived to procure such pro-
vision as the island afforded, especially goats and fish.
At first he was obliged to eat seal ; but when he had made
himself hooks, he never caught seals, but for the purpose
of making lines, by cutting their skins into narrow slips.
He had built himself a hut about half a mile from the
sea, which was lined with goat skins ; his couch, raised
above the ground on sticks, was spread over with the
same ; he had no clothes left, but only a skin about his
waist. The Spaniards knew he was upon the island, and

had frequently endeavoured to discover him, but he eluded their search: he saw the vessel in which Dampier was the day before she came to anchor, and believing them to be English, had killed three goats, which he had dressed with cabbage, to treat them with when they came ashore. Captain Cook remained at Juan Fernandez sixteen days, in the course of which time the sick men, who were principally ill of the scurvy, having been sent on shore, and fed on goats' flesh and vegetables, recovered their health.

On the 8th of April Captain Cook and Captain Eaton sailed in company along the coast of South America; as they were very apprehensive of being descried from the high land of Chili and Peru by the Spaniards, they generally kept at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues. Nothing particular occurred till the 3d of May, when they captured a vessel bound to Lima, from Guiaquil, laden with timber; the prisoners informed them that the Spaniards were acquainted with their being in the South Seas, and that the viceroy of Lima had sent express to all the sea-ports, to put them on their guard, and to command them to strengthen the places where our adventurers were most likely to attempt a landing. It was sufficiently evident from this information, that while the alarm respecting them continued, either the Spaniards would send no vessels to sea, or they would be sent so well protected, as not to fall into their hands; the villages, also, they were apprehensive, would present formidable obstacles and difficulties to a successful attack; but as they could not be idle, and were not easily daunted, they prepared for an expedition against one of them. Many towns were suggested, but at last Truxillo was pitched upon as the most important, and therefore the likeliest "to make them a voyage, if they could conquer it." On the 17th of May the companies of both ships were mustered; there were in all one hundred and eight men fit for service,

beside the sick: the next day, however, they descried three sail steering to the north, which they took, and the information given them by the prisoners induced them to give up their attempt against Truxillo. These men told them that the inhabitants were erecting a strong fort close by the sea, and, from the situation and description of this fort, they were convinced a landing there would be impracticable. Our adventurers, upon this, resolved to steer for the Gallapagos; and in the beginning of July they fell in with Cape Blanco, on the main land of Mexico. A short time before they reached this island, Captain Cook, who had been taken ill at Juan Fernandez, died very suddenly, though he seemed that morning to be as likely to live as he had been for some weeks before; and Dampier, on this circumstance, observes, that it is usual with sick men coming from the sea, where they have nothing but the sea air, to die off as soon as ever they come within the view of the land. Mr. Edward Davis, the quarter-master, was made commander in the room of Captain Cook.

From the Gallapago isles they directed their course for Ria Lexa, and when they arrived there, they manned their canoes, and pushed for the shore; but the Spaniards, apprehensive of an attack, had caused a house to be built, on which four men were placed, to be constantly on the watch night and day; these men had horses always in readiness, and as soon as they perceived the ships, they set off full speed for the town. As they had got the start of our adventurers at least three hours, they thought it best to defer their design till another time; accordingly, they steered for the gulph of Amapalla, intending there to careen their ships. As it was necessary to procure the aid of some Indians for this business, it was resolved, when they came near the gulph, that Captain Davis should go in some canoes to obtain them. He landed at Mangera, where a great number of Indians, and a friar

among them, were on the shore ; the Indians ran off and escaped, but the friar stumbling, fell into Captain Davis's hands, who soon convinced him that he meant him no harm, and that his only object and wish was to procure the assistance of the Indians in careening the vessel. The friar informed him, that in the church most of the Indians would soon be assembled, for the purpose of exhibiting some of their plays; and Captain Davis, upon this, resolved, when they were all in the church, to shut the doors, and then make a bargain with them; but before they were all in the church, one of Captain Davis's men pushed one of the Indians, to hasten him into it. The Indian immediately ran away, and the rest taking the alarm, sprang out of the church like deer, so that Captain Davis, who was ignorant of the cause, was extremely surprised to see only himself and the friar left in it. Soon afterwards, both the ships came into the gulph, where they were cleaned and supplied with water and provisions: when this was done, Captain Davis and Captain Eaton resolved to try their fortunes separately, and accordingly broke off partnership. Dampier remained with Captain Davis.

On the 3d of September, 1684, Captain Davis took his departure from Amapalla; they first steered for the isle of Plata, where they anchored on the 20th, and on the following day Captain Eaton arrived: he was very desirous to renew the partnership, but Captain Davis's men sought such unreasonable terms, that the proposal was not acceded to. On the 2d of October, being still at Plata, and undetermined what course to pursue, or what enterprise to undertake, Captain Swan, in the *Cyguet*, of London, arrived. The two commanders immediately agreed to sail in company, and as they received information that the viceroy of Lima was fitting out ten sail to cruise against them, they were very desirous of strengthening their force by the junction of Captain Eaton; they

therefore dispatched one of the vessels they had taken to seek for him, and appointed the isle of Plata as the general rendezvous. On the 20th of October they set sail, and on the 2d of November they had got as high as Payta. About two leagues to the N. N. E. of Payta, is an Indian town, named Colan; the inhabitants are all fishermen; a good deal of skill and labour is employed by them in the construction of their bark logs; when these are made for fishing, they are constructed of three or four logs of light wood, each seven or eight feet long, pinned fast together with wooden pins, and bound hard with ozier twigs; the logs are placed in such a manner, that the middlemost are longer than those at the sides, especially at the head and fore part, thus giving the float the appearance of a regular formed vessel, and enabling it to cut through the water with less resistance. When the rafts are intended to carry goods, they are formed of twenty or thirty great trees, from twenty to forty feet long, fastened like the former; on the top of these another shorter row of trees is placed, but in a cross direction; this forms the bottom: the whole height is about ten feet, and between the upper and the lower part there is a hold, divided into two parts; the lowest of these serves as a cellar, in which they place their ballast and water; this is generally two or three feet below the surface of the water: in the second division of the hold the goods are stowed; abaft, there is a little space left for the steersman; and in the fore part of the raft there is a fire-hearth to dress their victuals. In these bark logs the Indians will undertake very long voyages, as from Lima to Truxillo, Guiaquil, or Panama; the last is a distance of five or six hundred leagues. These voyages they would not, however, be able to accomplish, were it not for the trade winds, for they can only go before the wind; their mast and sail are similar in form and situation to those of the west country barges on the Thames. These rafts

carry sixty or seventy tons of goods, consisting principally of wine, oil, flour, sugar, Quito cloth, soap, &c.; they are managed by three or four men, and as they cannot return against the trade wind, when they come to the place of their destination, they sell the rafts as well as the cargo, getting a passage back for themselves by the first opportunity, and then making a new bark log for their next cargo, in the same manner as those who navigate the rafts on the Rhine, dispose of them, as well as their cargoes, when they reach the place of their destination. Dampier remarks, that this sort of floats are used in many parts both of the East and West Indies, and that on the coast of Coromandel they are called catamarans.

The first attempt that was made by Captains Davis and Eaton, after they had united, was against Guiaquil; in this, however, they completely failed. During their passage from this place to Puna, they went on board three barks, laden with negroes; there were one thousand, all strong young men and women: they took out forty of the stoutest, leaving the three barks with the rest. On this occasion Dampier discovers and explains the views of an enterprising, vigorous, and comprehensive mind: his object and plan was to have gone with these negroes to Santa Maria, on the Isthmus of Darien, and to have employed them in working the gold mines in its neighbourhood, from which the Spaniards had some time before been driven away by some privateers. He expresses his firm belief and conviction, that the place might have been maintained against all the efforts the Spaniards could make, and that they would in a short time have been joined by numbers of men from the West Indies, by whose assistance they might have taken possession of the whole coast, as far as Quito. "There never was," he observes, "a greater opportunity put into the hands of men to enrich themselves, than we had." His ideas, however,

were not adopted. They now resolved to return to the isle of Plata, and from this place sailed for the bay of Panama, with a design to attack La Velia, a town of considerable size on the banks of a river to the north of the bay, and a few leagues from the sea. Before, however, they could commence this undertaking, it was necessary to procure more canoes; these they obtained from the Indians on the river St. Jago, and on the 1st of January, 1685, they proceeded on their enterprize.

While they were crossing from Tomaco towards Gallo, one of their canoes captured a Spanish packet boat from Panama to Lima; from the letters found on board her, they learnt that the armada from Spain was come to Portobello, and that the president of Panama had dispatched the packet to hasten the Plate fleet from Lima. This joyful intelligence determined them to alter their plan, and to careen their ships as speedily as possible, that they might be ready to intercept this valuable fleet. They fixed upon the Pearl Key for this purpose, because it was near Panama, and all ships bound thither from Lima passed by it. They had with them two ships and three barks, viz. Captain Davis, Captain Swan, a fire-ship, and two small barks as tenders. On their passage to the Pearl Keys, they captured a vessel laden with flour, and as they were rather short of this article, she was deemed a very acceptable prize. In order that the Plate fleet might not escape them while careening, and that they might gain the earliest and most accurate intelligence, they sent out their barks to cruise before Panama. During their cruise, they took some vessels laden with Indian corn, salt beef, and fowls. No intelligence, however, of the Plate fleet being received, and the ships having been careened, they left Pearl Keys, and sailed towards Panama. After cruising off it for some time, they came to an anchor near the Isle of Tobago, in the bay: while they were here, the Spaniards made use of a stratagem to destroy the ships;

a person, who pretended to be a merchant from Panama, came on board Captain Davis's vessel, and agreed, if he would anchor nearer the shore, that during the night he would bring out his bark, laden with goods, and trade with him privately. Accordingly, Captain Davis anchored at the desired place, and when it grew dark, a vessel was perceived sailing towards them, which they naturally concluded to be the merchant's bark; in this opinion most of the crew were confirmed, by their hailing them with the watch-word that had been agreed upon. Suspicion, however, was some how or other excited; the vessel was called to, and ordered to anchor; and as she did not comply, a shot was fired at her. On this the men immediately left her, went on board a canoe, and soon afterwards she blew up, proving to be a fire-ship instead of the merchant's bark. She exploded so close to Captain Davis's vessel, that he was obliged to cut his cable, and get under weigh as speedily as possible.

Captain Swan's vessel was attempted nearly at the same time; but in a different manner: he was lying about a mile off, with a canoe at the buoy of his anchor, being apprehensive of some treachery on the part of the Spaniards; a short time before the ship exploded, a small float was observed on the water, and to all appearance a man on it, making towards the ship; on the sudden the man dived and disappeared. Captain Swan taking the alarm, and, at the same time, the fire-ship that was sent against Captain Davis's vessel exploding, cut his cable, and made off. Dampier supposes that it was the design of the man on the float, if he had not been discovered, to have fastened some combustible matter about the rudder of the ship—a trick, he says, which was played Captain Sharp when he was with him, and his vessel had like to have been burnt, if by mere accident it had not been discovered.

While they lay at anchor at Tobago, they were surprised one day to observe a great number of canoes, full of men, crossing from it to another island; at first they were greatly alarmed, but their apprehensions were soon converted into joy and confidence, when they ascertained that the men were English and French, who had come from the North Sea by the Isthmus of Darien: there were two hundred French, and eighty English, and they learnt that about one hundred and eighty more of the latter were about to cross the Isthmus. Thus reinforced, after having distributed their new companions in the vessels, they sailed towards the gulph of St. Michael's, for the purpose of meeting the remainder: they had not proceeded far, before Captain Townley, who had the command of these, joined them in two barks which he had captured. From the prisoners they learnt that the Lima fleet was about to sail immediately; and from some intercepted letters, they farther ascertained that it was to be protected by a very strong force, but at the same time strict orders were given them not to fight, if they could possibly avoid it. The fleet of our adventurers was now so powerful, and so well manned, that they were not apprehensive of the result of an engagement. On the 28th of May the long-expected fleet was descried, about three leagues W.N.W. from the island of Pâcheque, standing close on a wind to the eastward. All the ships of our adventurers were soon ready for battle, except the barks in which the Frenchmen had been put, with one of their own countrymen as their captain—"he took care to keep himself out of harm's way."

The Spanish fleet consisted of fourteen sail; six sail of them were of considerable force: the admiral, of forty-eight guns, and four hundred and fifty men; the vice-admiral, forty guns, and four hundred men; the rear-admiral, thirty-six guns, and three hundred and sixty

men; a ship of twenty-four guns, and three hundred men; one of eighteen guns, and two hundred and fifty men; and one of eight guns, and two hundred men: there were, besides, two great fire-ships, six vessels with small arms, and eight hundred men, and nearly three hundred men in boats. The fleet of our adventurers consisted of ten sail; first, Captain Davis, of thirty-six guns, and one hundred and fifty-six men, mostly English; Captain Swan, sixteen guns, and one hundred and forty men, all English; the other vessels had only small arms, and consisted of Captain Townley, and one hundred and ten men, all English. Captain Grouet, with his three hundred and eight Frenchmen, could not be depended upon. Captain Harris had one hundred men, mostly English; Captain Branley, thirty-six men, some English and some French; and there were eight men in the tender belonging to Davis's ship, and the same number in the tender attached to Swan's ship: a small bark was converted into a fire-ship, and a canoe's crew put on board of her. The whole number of men was nine hundred and sixty, while of the Spaniards there were nearly three thousand. The fleet of our adventurers, not discouraged at this superiority in men, nor at the still greater and more formidable superiority in the number of guns, resolved, notwithstanding Captain Grouet kept aloof, to come to an engagement immediately. As they were to windward of the Spanish fleet, they had it in their power to fight or not, and they hoped, by preserving that advantage, during the engagement, to have it in their power to withdraw from it, if it should be deemed necessary or prudent. About three o'clock in the afternoon they bore down right before the wind on the Spaniards; the enemy did not seem to wish to avoid an engagement, but, on the contrary, kept close on a wind. Before, however, the two fleets came near enough to fire on each other, it grew dark. The Spanish admiral was observed to shew a light, as was supposed, for his fleet to

come to anchor; in about half an hour it was taken down, and a short time afterwards appeared again: the second light was still supposed to be in the admiral's ship, and the fleet of our adventurers directed their course during the night under this impression, still imagining that they preserved the advantage of being to windward of the enemy; but the second light was only a stratagem, put out at the mast head of one of the Spanish barks, which was then sent to leeward. In the morning, therefore, they were not a little disappointed and chagrined to find that the enemy had got the weather gauge of them, and were coming down under full sail. No alternative now remained, but to escape as quickly as possible, which they were glad to effect, into the isle of Pachequé. Thus, after five or six months anxious expectation and preparation, they were glad to escape from that fleet which they hoped to have captured. The vessel commanded by Captain Harris having separated from them during the engagement, they resolved to go to the Keys of Quebo in quest of him. With respect to Grouet and his countrymen, after cashiering them, they sent them away.

When they arrived at the Keys of Quebo, a consultation was held between the commanders of the two ships, respecting their further mode of proceeding; and they both agreed, that the most probable method of advancing their fortunes, was to try what the land could afford, since there were no longer any hopes of getting any thing at sea. The next point to be settled, regarded the town which they should attack, and by the advice and information of their pilots, the city of Leon, though considerably within land, was fixed upon. But the most immediate object of their attention and wants, was canoes, and therefore they sent men on shore to cut timber for this purpose: provisions were also scanty, and Puebla Nova was pitched upon as a place where they were likely to procure them.

They succeeded in their attack on it, but could procure no provisions. On the 20th of July, they sailed from Quebo towards Ria Lexa, the port of Leon. Their fleet consisted of eight sail, with six hundred and forty men, under the command of Davis, Swan, Townley, and Knight; but the two former were deemed and treated as the supreme commanders. After a short, but rather vigorous resistance, they succeeded in taking the city of Leon, which they burnt: they also burnt Ria Lexa; but in neither place did they obtain the booty they expected and anticipated.

Soon after these enterprises, Captain Davis and Captain Swan broke off consortship; the former being resolved again to visit Peru, and the latter feeling inclined to sail to the westward. Captain Swan's ultimate plan was to coast as far south as he thought convenient, and then pass over for the East Indies; and as Dampier wished to obtain a more intimate and extensive knowledge of the north coast of Mexico, and had no objection to go to the East Indies, he determined to leave Captain Davis and accompany Captain Swan. Nothing interesting or important occurred till their arrival at Santa Pecaque on the 11th of February, 1686, where they stopped, in order to procure provisons. For this purpose they landed, went up the country, and at first succeeded in their object, without difficulty or resistance. But the Spaniards taking the alarm, collected about one thousand men, of all colours: the Spaniards themselves were armed with guns and pistols, and the copper-coloured with swords and lances. Captain Swan upon this, ordered his men to catch as many horses as they could, in order that they might all proceed in a body, and carry more provison with them. Having procured as much provision as loaded fifty-four horses, they set out towards their canoes; but the men refused either to march quickly, or in a regular and compact order. The Spaniards, aware of this, laid

an ambush, and succeeded in falling on our men; fifty of whom they killed. Being disheartened at this misfortune, Captain Swan purposed to go to Cape St. Lucas, in California, to careen: he had, however, a further object; he thought that at this place he should lye secure from the Spaniards, and might probably, by the assistance of the Indians, obtain some of the plate of New Mexico.

At this part of his narrative, Dampier offers some remarks on the north-west and north-east passages, which display considerable ingenuity, acuteness, and good sense, and therefore deserve to be quoted, as illustrating the character and powers of his mind, though the practicability of these passages may now be regarded as settled decidedly in the negative. It will be observed, that in what he offers respecting a north-west passage, he seems to have anticipated the plan and object of Captain Cook's last voyage.

“ I know,” says he, “ there have been divers attempts
“ made about a north-west passage, and all unsuccessful,
“ yet I am of opinion that such a passage may be found.
“ All our countrymen that have gone to discover the
“ north-west passage, have endeavoured to pass to the
“ westward, beginning their search along Davis's or Hud-
“ son's Bay. But, if I was to go on this discovery, I
“ would go first into the south seas, bend my course from
“ thence along by California, and that way seek a passage
“ back into the west seas. For, as others have spent the
“ summer in first searching on this more known side
“ nearer home, and so before they got through, the time
“ of the year obliged them to give over their search, and
“ provide for a long course back again, for fear of being
“ left in the winter; on the contrary, I would search first
“ on the less known coast of the south sea side, and then,
“ as the year passed away, I should need no retreat, for
“ I should come further into my knowledge, if I suc-
“ ceeded in my attempt; and should be without that

“dread and fear which the others must have in passing
“from the known to the unknown; who, for ought I
“know, gave over their search just as they were on the
“point of accomplishing their desires.

“I would take the same method if I was to go to dis-
“cover the north-east passage. I would winter about
“Japan, Corea, or the north-east part of China; and
“taking the spring and summer before me, I would make
“my first trial on the coast of Tartary, wherein, if I suc-
“ceeded, I should come into some known parts, and have
“a great deal of time before me to reach Archangel or
“some other port. Captain Wood, indeed, says this
“north-east passage is not to be found for ice; but how
“often do we see that sometimes designs have been given
“over as impossible, and at another time, and by others,
“those very things have been accomplished.”

Soon after their arrival at the Maria island, Captain Swan laid before the crew his plan of going to the East Indies. Many of them were so extremely ignorant, that they thought he would carry them out of the world, for they did not think the East Indies could be reached by sea, from California: at last, all agreed to the proposed voyage. It was necessary, however, to look into the state of their provisions. They found that it consisted principally of maize, of which they had about eighty bushels; this could not last them more than sixty days, even at the very short allowance of half a pint of maize for each man. There was no other provision, except three meals of salted jew fish; and there were such a number of rats on board the ship, that they could not prevent them from eating the maize. The men were again startled at this account of their stock of provisions, for they could not expect a supply till they arrived at the Ladrone islands.

While they lay at the Maria island, Dampier was effectually cured of a dropsy, with which he had been long

troubled : he was laid and covered all over the head in the hot sand, for nearly half an hour ; he was then taken out, and laid to perspire in a tent. It is also worthy of remark, that his health, which had suffered very much by this disorder, was completely re-established by the spare and plain diet to which he was compelled to submit in the voyage they were about to undertake. On the 31st of March, 1686, Captain Swan, having encouraged his men by the promise that he would cruise off Manilla, set sail. There were two ships in company, Captain Swan's ship, and a bark commanded by Captain Teat, who acted under Captain Swan. There were one hundred men on board the ship, and fifty on board the bark, besides slaves. The crew were immediately put on short allowance : this they cheerfully submitted to, while they supposed the voyage would be very long ; but in the first twenty days having made a very great run, they began to complain of their scanty fare. Captain Swan having in vain endeavoured to persuade them that it was safest and most prudent to continue at their old allowance, was obliged to encrease it from eight spoonsful of boiled maize a man, to ten. They were equally sparing of their water ; and Dampier remarks " that some of the men did not feel an inclination " to drink oftener than once in ten or twelve days ; and " that one man did not drink for seventeen days."

By their calculation, Suam, the nearest of the Ladrone islands, was one thousand nine hundred leagues from the place where they sailed from ; but not perceiving any signs of land, when, by their reckoning, they had run this distance, the men began again to murmur ; fortunately for Captain Swan, shortly after they got sight of Suam. At this time there was not on board more than three days provision, and Dampier was afterwards informed, that the men had determined to kill the captain and eat him, when the victuals were gone ; and after him, all the rest who had been accessory to the voyage.

When they reached Suam, they were obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to procure provisions; and after all, they procured them in such insufficient quantities, that they resolved to proceed to Mindanao, one of the Phillippine islands; being informed that it abounded in provisions, and that the inhabitants were not well disposed to the Spaniards. Here they continued for a considerable length of time; and Dampier has given a very full and interesting account of them, their productions, and the manners, customs, and religion of the inhabitants. On the latter point, viz. their religion, he relates a curious anecdote. The principal religious ceremony which they observe, consists in washing themselves often, in order to keep themselves from being defiled. Many things are accounted unclean, particularly swine's flesh. In the neighbourhood of the towns there were considerable numbers of wild hogs, which the natives requested our adventurers to shoot; but after they had complied with their request, they would not allow them to enter their houses. The governor took it into his head to have a pair of shoes made after the English fashion;—a pair were accordingly made for him, by one of the crew; but on being informed, that the thread with which the shoes were sewed was pointed with hog's bristles, he flew into a great passion and returned them, desiring to have another pair, with threads pointed with some other hair.

The inhabitants of Mindanao behaved in the most friendly manner to our adventurers, and were very much disappointed and grieved when they found that they did not mean to settle in their island. Dampier seems afterwards to have regretted that they did not comply with the wishes of the inhabitants; for, by settling among them, they not only would have benefited themselves, but might have proved of public benefit to the nation, by introducing an English settlement, and trade not only on that island, but also through the neighbouring spice islands. Our

adventurers had another opportunity and offer of a settlement in this part of the world; for while they were at Mindanao, the sultan of one of the spice islands, being apprehensive of a visit from the Dutch, sent his nephew to Captain Swan, to invite him into his dominions. The crew were strongly disposed to accept the offer; but by this time, such a difference had arisen between them and Swan, that they could agree upon no one point, and therefore the proposal of the sultan never came to a head.

Hitherto, not only the inhabitants, but also the governor of Mindanao had behaved in the most open and friendly manner; but, in the month of November, having occasion to clean their ship, the governor discovered his treachery; fortunately, however, without being able to accomplish his design. In examining the bottom of the ship, they found it much eaten by the worms; it was therefore necessary to rip off the sheathing plank. They were rather surprised that the governor watched this operation with a considerable degree of interest and anxiety; but as soon as he discovered the real bottom of the ship, firm and untouched by the worms, he shook his head and seemed to be much discontented; saying, he had never seen a ship with two bottoms before. From this circumstance, and what they learnt respecting a Dutch ship which had been destroyed there by the worms, they had no doubt but the governor expected theirs would share the same fate: he had been very forward in assisting the ship into the river, but offered no assistance when she got out again.

They continued so long at Mindanao, that the crew, from want of employment and neglect of discipline, became mutinous; and Captain Swan not taking the proper measures to regain their confidence and re-establish their obedience, they at last determined to proceed to sea without him. This they actually did. Dampier was entirely

unacquainted with their design, but being on board at the time, he was obliged to remain there. The first object of the crew was to cruise off Manilla; but the season of the year rendering this unsafe, they bore away for Pulo Condore, an island not far distant from the river Cambodia. They continued at Pulo Condore from the 16th of March, till the 16th of April, 1697. While they lay there, two of the crew died, who had been poisoned at Mindanao, at least four or five months before: they stated, that they were sensible of the operation of the poison soon after it had been given them. When their bodies were opened, their livers were black, light and dry, like pieces of cork. After having careened their ship, they made an attempt to get into the bay of Siam; but not succeeding, they were obliged to return to Pulo Condore. During their second stay here, Dampier and the surgeon being tired of the "mad crew," as he calls them, endeavoured to make their escape, but could not effect it at this time. On the 4th of June they again left Pulo Condore, designing to proceed directly for Manilla; but meeting with contrary winds, they were driven on the coast of China. Here tempestuous weather still pursued them; so that after visiting the Pescadores, Formosa, &c. the crew were persuaded to give up all thoughts of Manilla, and to go towards Cape Comorin, in order to try their fortune in the Red Sea.

In his description of Orange island, one of the Pescadores, Dampier offers some very ingenious and sensible observations on the formation of the sea coast in different parts of the world, and on the signs of good or bad anchorage.

"I have made it my general observation," he observes, "that where the land is fenced with high rocks and cliffs against the sea, there the sea is very deep, and seldom affords anchor ground; and on the other side, where the land falls away with a declivity into the sea, (al-

“ though the land be extraordinary high within) there
“ are commonly good soundings, and consequently an-
“ choring; and as the visible declivity of the land appears
“ near, or at the edge of the water, whether pretty steep,
“ or more sloping, so we commonly find our anchoring
“ ground to be more or less deep or high; therefore we
“ come nearer the shore, or anchor farther off, as we see
“ convenient; for there is no coast in the world that I
“ know, or have heard of, where the land is of a con-
“ tinual height, without some vallies or declivities which
“ lye intermixed with the high land. They are the sub-
“ sidings of vallies or low lands, that make dents in the
“ shore and creeks, small bays, harbours, little coves,
“ &c. which afford good anchoring, the surface of the
“ earth being there lodged deep under water. Thus we
“ find many good harbours on such coasts where the land
“ bounds the sea with steep cliffs, by reason of the de-
“ clivities or subsidings of the land between these cliffs.
“ But where the declension from the hills or cliffs is not
“ within land, but, as on the coast of Chili and Peru, the
“ declivity is towards the main sea, or into it, the coast
“ being perpendicular, or very steep from the neighbour-
“ ing hills, as in those countries from the Andes, that
“ run along the shore, there is a deep sea, and few or no
“ harbours or creeks. All that coast is too steep for
“ anchoring, and hath the fewest roads fit for ships of any
“ coast I know. The coasts of Gallicia, Portugal, Nor-
“ way and Newfoundland, &c. are coasts like the Pe-
“ ruvian, and the high islands of the Archipelago, but
“ yet not so scanty of good harbours; for where there are
“ short ridges of land there are good bays at the ex-
“ tremities of those ridges, where they plunge into the
“ sea; as on the coast of Caraccas, &c. The island of
“ Juan Fernandez, and the island of St. Helena, &c. are
“ such high lands, with deep shore; and in general, th
“ plunging of any land under water seems to be in pro-

“ portion to the rising of its continuous parts above
“ water, more or less steep; and it must be a bottom
“ almost level, or very gently declining, that affords good
“ anchoring, ships being soon driven from their moorings
“ on a steep bank; therefore, we never strive to anchor
“ where we see the land high, and bounding the sea with
“ steep cliffs; and for this reason, when we came in
“ sight of States island, near Terra del Fuego, before we
“ entered into the South Seas, we did not so much as
“ think of anchoring, after we saw what land it was, be-
“ cause of the steep cliffs which appeared against the sea;
“ yet there might be little harbours or coves for shallows,
“ or the like, to anchor in, which we did not see or
“ search after.

“ As high steep cliffs bounding on the sea, have this
“ ill consequence, that they seldom afford anchoring, so
“ they have this benefit, that we can see them far off and
“ sail close to them without danger; for which reason,
“ we call them bold shores: whereas, low land, on the
“ contrary, is seen but a little way, and in many places
“ we dare not come near it, for fear of running aground
“ before we see it. Besides, there are in many places
“ shoals thrown out by the course of great rivers, that,
“ from the low land, fall into the sea.

“ This which I have said, that there is usually good
“ anchoring near low lands, may be illustrated by several
“ instances. Thus, on the south side of the bay of Cam-
“ peachy, there is mostly low land, and there is also
“ good anchoring all along the shore; and in some places
“ to the eastward of the town of Campeachy, we shall
“ have so many fathom as we are leagues off the land;
“ that is, from nine or ten leagues distance, till you
“ come within four leagues; and from thence to land it
“ grows but shallower. The bay of Honduras also is
“ low land, and continues mostly so, as we pass along
“ from thence to the coasts of Portobello and Carthagea,

“ till we come as high as Santa Martha; afterwards, the
“ land is low again, till you come towards the coast of
“ Caraccas, which is a high coast and bold shore. The
“ land about Surinam, on the same coast, is low, and good
“ anchoring; and that over on the coast of Guinea is
“ such also; and such, too, is the bay of Panama, where
“ the pilot master orders the pilot always to sound, and
“ not to come within such a depth, be it night or day.
“ In the same seas, from the high land of Guitemala, in
“ Mexico, to California, there is mostly low land, and
“ good anchoring. In the main of Asia, the coast of
“ China, the bays of Siam and Bengal, and all the coast
“ of Coromandel, and the coast about Malacca, and
“ against it, the island of Sumatra on that side, are
“ mostly low anchoring shores; but on the west side of
“ Sumatra, the shore is high and bold: and most of the
“ islands lying to the eastward of Sumatra, as the islands
“ of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, and abundance of islands
“ of less note, lying scattering up and down those seas;
“ are low land, and have good anchoring near them, with
“ many shoals scattered to and fro among them; but the
“ islands lying against the last Indian ocean, especially
“ the west sides of them, are high land, and steep; par-
“ ticularly the west parts, not only of Sumatra, but also
“ of Java, Timor, &c. Particulars are endless, but, in
“ general, it is seldom but high shores and deep waters;
“ and on the other side, low land and shallow seas are
“ found together.”

On the 13th of August they reached Bashee island, where they continued till the 26th day of September. During this stay, they mended their sails, and scrubbed their ship's bottom well; and while part of the crew were thus employed, some of the others went up into the villages, where they were hospitably received and treated by the inhabitants. A few days before they left this place, a most violent storm arose, and the ship driving, they

were obliged to put out to sea, notwithstanding six of the men were ashore. When the gale abated, they stood in again, and the men were brought aboard by the natives, whom they rewarded, and highly gratified by a present of three whole bars of iron. This storm quite disheartened the crew, and as the eastern monsoon was now at hand, Dampier was of opinion that they should proceed through the straits of Malacca; but the master preferred taking the ship round the east side of all the Philippine Islands, and thence southward to the spice islands, and so into the Indian ocean, near the island of Timor. Dampier thought this would be both a tedious and dangerous passage, but he was reconciled to it, from the considerations, that thus he should obtain more knowledge and experience, and meet a greater variety of opportunities to escape, being fully resolved to leave the ship as soon as he possibly could.

After leaving the Bashee islands, they passed the north end of Luconia, the isle of St. John, and some other of the Philippines; and put into two small islands near Mindanao. While they lay at one of these islands, one of their pumps being faulty, they made a new one in the Spanish manner: having cut down a tree proper for their purpose, they squared it, sawed it in the middle, and hollowed each side exactly. The two hollow sides were made capable of holding the pump box, and then they were joined together. In this simple way they got a very serviceable pump. At this island they received some intelligence of their old companion, Captain Swan: a young prince, whom they had seen on their previous visit to Mindanao, came on board, and told them that Captain Swan was at the city of Mindanao; that he had got into great favour with the rajah, in consequence of having assisted him in his wars; and that he was on the point of embarking for Fort St. George. This intelligence induced Dampier again to think of escaping, and he endeavoured

to persuade the crew to join him, and offer their services to Captain Swan; but some of them giving information of his plan to the commander, he was obliged to give it up. After leaving this place, they coasted along the isle of Celebes, and on one of the shoals near it, they found a monstrous sort of cockles, one of which was sufficient for seven or eight men. After passing Timor, &c. and getting clear of all the islands, they stood off to the south, intending to touch at New Holland. On the 4th of January, 1688, they fell in with it, and remained there some time to clean and refit their vessel. During their stay, Dampier again endeavoured to persuade the men to go to some English factory, but was threatened to be turned ashore and left there, for his attempt.

On the 12th of March they sailed for New Holland, directing their course to the northward, intending to touch at the island of Cocos; but the wind becoming contrary; they bore away for some islands to the west of Sumatra, and on the 12th of April they came to a small island, called Triste, about fifteen leagues to the west of it: after running down the north-west side, they directed their course to the Nicobar Islands, intending there to clean the ship's bottom; and on the 5th of May they came to anchor in a bay on the north-west side of the main island. As Dampier had so often attempted in vain to escape, he resolved to try if he could not obtain the captain's permission to remain on this island. He had made himself well acquainted with the disposition, manners, and customs of the natives, and with the various articles of traffic; and he thought there was a fair prospect of advancing a profitable trade for ambergrease, of which there was abundance, very good and fragrant: his ultimate object was, after he had collected a large quantity of it, to have taken the first opportunity of getting away by any European vessel, or else to have gone in a canoe to Achen. He, however, kept his wishes and

designs to himself till the ship was ready to sail, when he desired the captain to set him ashore on the island. Leave was given him, and with his chest and bedding he immediately landed, lest the captain might change his mind. He had not, however, been long ashore, before three or four armed men came to fetch him on board again: when he reached the ship, he found it entirely in confusion and uproar; three of the men, among whom was the surgeon, being desirous of following his example, and leaving the vessel. The captain did not object to part with any of these, except the surgeon, but him he would on no account permit to go on shore. Dampier, therefore, with a Mr. Hall, and a sailor of the name of Ambrose, were put on shore by themselves, and took up their abode in one of the huts of the natives. His plan of continuing on the island seems now to have been abandoned, for the day after they landed, they purchased a canoe from one of the inhabitants for an axe, in which, with four Malays and a Portuguese, whom the captain had put on shore afterwards, they resolved to proceed to Achen.

Their boat was about the size and burden of one of the London wherries below bridge; but she was deeper, and built sharp at both ends, like the fore part of a wherry; neither was she so broad: she was so light, that when empty, four men could launch her, or haul her ashore. The mast was strong and substantial, the sail made of mat; on each side of this canoe were outlayers, lashed very firmly, made of strong poles: the advantage of these was very great, for while they continued firm, the boat could not overset, which she could easily have done without them; these outlayers were the contrivance of the Malays. Their first setting off was very unfortunate, for the outlayers not being put to, the canoe had scarcely left the shore, before she overset. Dampier and his companions saved themselves by swimming, but their clothes and books were rendered so wet, that they were

obliged to stay three days, making great fires to dry them. On the 15th of May, 1688, they finally left Nicobar Island; their sea stock consisted of three or four loaves of melory, a fruit like a pear, and as large as the bread fruit, which, when prepared, will keep six or seven days; about twelve large cocoa-nut shells, that had all the kernels taken out, yet were preserved whole, except only a small hole at one end, in which were contained about three gallons and a half of water; they had also two or three bamboos, which held about four or five gallons more.

Captain Dampier, before he left the ship, had consulted the map of the East Indies, and written out of it into his pocket-book an account of the bearing and distance of all the Malacca coast, and that of Sumatra, Pegu, and Siam; he had also with him a pocket compass. In order to gain the advantage of the trade wind, they first rowed away to the southward; they had four oars, which they took by turns, Dampier and Mr. Hall steering, as none of the others were capable of doing it. On the morning of the second day, after having rowed and sailed a considerable distance in their proper course, as they thought, they kept a look out for the island of Sumatra, supposing themselves to be twenty-four leagues from Nicobar; they were therefore most excessively surprised and chagrined, when, turning themselves about, they saw Nicobar not above eight leagues distant; they had met with a very strong current during the night, which had carried them out of their course. On the 18th of May, the appearance of the sky was alarming; about noon, the sun, which before had shone out with great clearness and brilliancy, became obscured; a large circle, five or six times its diameter, appeared round it. On this prognostication of bad weather, Dampier observes, "We do commonly take great notice of those that are about the sun, observing if there be any breach in the circle, and

“ in what quarter the breach is, for from thence we commonly find the greatest stress of the wind will come.” He was extremely alarmed at the appearance of this circle, but kept his fears to himself.

In a short time, his apprehensions were verified ; but he has described the storm which they encountered, with so much force and nature, and has moreover laid open his own feelings and thoughts while it lasted, with so much ingenuousness, that we should do justice neither to him nor to our readers, if we gave the narrative in any language but his own.

“ The wind bearing very hard, we rolled up the foot of our sail on a pole fastened to it, and settled our yard within three feet of the canoe’s side, so that we had now but a small sail ; yet it was still too big, considering the wind ; for the wind being on our broadside, pressed her down very much, though supported by her outlayers ; insomuch that the poles of the outlayers going from the sides of the vessel, bent as if they would break ; and should they have broken, our overturning and perishing had been inevitable. Besides, the sea increasing, would soon have filled the vessel this way. Yet thus we made a shift to bear up, with the side of the vessel against the wind, for a while ; but the wind still increasing, about one o’clock in the afternoon we put away right before wind and sea, continuing to run thus all the afternoon, and part of the night ensuing. The wind continued increasing all the afternoon, and the sea still swelled higher, and often broke, but did us no damage ; for the ends of the vessel being very narrow, he that steered received and broke the sea on his back, and so kept it from coming in so much as to endanger the vessel ; though much water would come in, which we were forced to keep heaving out continually ; and by this time we saw it was well we had altered our course, every wave would else have filled

“ and sunk us, taking the side of the vessel ; and though
“ our outlayers were well lashed down to the canoe’s
“ bottom with rattons, yet they must probably have
“ yielded to such a sea as this, when even before they
“ were plunged under water, they bent like twigs.

“ The evening of the eighteenth day was very dismal ;
“ the sky looked very black, being covered with dark
“ clouds ; the wind blew hard, and the seas ran high.
“ The sea was already roaring in a white foam about us, a
“ dark night coming on, and no land in sight to shelter
“ us, and our little bark in danger to be swallowed by
“ every wave ; and what was worst of all, none of us
“ thought ourselves prepared for another world. The
“ reader may better guess than I can express, the confu-
“ sion that we were all in. I had been in many imminent
“ dangers before now, some of which I have already
“ related ; but the worst of them all was but a play-game,
“ in comparison with this. I must confess that I was in
“ great conflicts of mind at this time. Other dangers
“ came not upon me with such a leisurely and dreadful
“ solemnity ; a sudden skirmish or engagement, or so,
“ was nothing when one’s blood was up, and pushed
“ forwards with eager expectations : but here I had a
“ lingering view of approaching death, and little or no
“ hopes of escaping it ; and I must confess that my cou-
“ rage, which I had hitherto kept up, failed me here ;
“ and I made very sad reflections on my former life, and
“ looked back with horror and detestation on actions
“ which before I disliked, but now I trembled at the
“ remembrance of. I had long before this repented me
“ of that roving course of life, but never with such con-
“ cern as now. I did also call to mind the many miracu-
“ lous acts of God’s providence towards me in the whole
“ course of my life, of which kind, I believe, few men
“ have met with the like. For all these, I returned
“ thanks in a peculiar manner, and this once more desired

“ God’s assistance, and composed my mind as well as I
“ could, in the hopes of it; and, as the event shewed,
“ I was not disappointed of my hopes.

“ Submitting ourselves, therefore, to God’s good pro-
“ vidence, and taking all the care we could to preserve
“ our lives, Mr. Hall and I took turns to steer, and the
“ rest took turns to heave out the water, and thus we
“ provided to spend the most doleful night I ever was in.
“ About ten o’clock, it began to thunder, lighten, and
“ rain; but the rain was very welcome to us, having
“ drank up all the water we brought from the island.

“ The wind, at first, blew harder than before, but within
“ half an hour it abated, and became more moderate;
“ and the sea also assuaged of its fury; and thus, by a
“ lighted match, of which we kept a piece burning on
“ purpose, we looked on our compass to see how we
“ steered, and found our course to be still east. We had
“ no occasion to look on the compass before, for we
“ steered right before the wind; which, if it shifted, we
“ had been obliged to alter our course accordingly. But
“ now, it being abated, we found our vessel lively
“ enough, with that small sail, which was then aboard, to
“ haul to our former course, S.S.E. which accordingly we
“ did, being now in hopes again to get to the island of
“ Sumatra.

“ But about two o’clock in the morning of the 19th, we
“ had another gust of wind, with much thunder, lighten-
“ ing, and rain, which lasted till day, and obliged us to
“ put before the wind again, steering thus for several
“ hours. It was very dark, and the hard rain soaked us
“ so thoroughly, that we had not one dry thread about
“ us. The rain chilled us extremely; for any fresh water
“ is much colder than that of the sea. For even in the
“ coldest climates, the sea is warm, and in the hottest
“ climates, the rain is cold and unwholesome for man’s
“ body. In this wet starveling plight, we spent the

“ tedious night. Never did poor mariners, on a lee shore,
“ more earnestly long for the dawning light, than we did
“ now. At length, the day appeared; but with such
“ dark, black clouds near the horizon, that the first
“ glimpse of the dawn appeared thirty or forty degrees
“ high; which was dreadful enough; for it is a common
“ saying among seamen, and true, as I have experienced,
“ that a high dawn, will have high winds, and a low
“ dawn, small winds.

“ We continued our course still east, before wind and
“ sea, till about eight o'clock in the morning of this 19th
“ day, and then one of our Malagar friends called out,
“ Puloway. Mr. Hall, and Ambrose, and I, thought
“ the fellow had said, pull-away, an expression usual
“ among English seamen, when they are rowing. And
“ we wondered what he meant by it, till we saw him
“ point to his consorts; and then, we looking that way,
“ saw land appearing, like an island, and all our Malagars
“ said it was an island at the N.W. end of Sumatra,
“ called Way; for Puloway, is the island Way. We,
“ who were dripping with wet, cold and hungry, were all
“ overjoyed at the sight of the land, and presently marked
“ its bearing. It bore south, and the wind was still at
“ west, a strong gale; but the sea did not run so high, as
“ in the night. Therefore we trimmed our small sail no
“ bigger than an apron, and steered with it. Now our
“ outlayers did us a great kindness again, for, although
“ we had but a small sail, yet the wind was strong, and
“ pressed down our vessel's side very much; but being
“ supported, by the outlayers, we could brook it well
“ enough, which otherways we could not have done.”

About five o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, the 20th of May, they reached the mouth of a river, in the island of Sumatra, called Passange Jonca, about thirty-four leagues to the eastward of Achin: the hardships of the voyage, the scorching heat of the sun, the cold rain,

and their being constantly wet, for the last two days, threw them into a fever; so that they were quite weak, and incapable of helping one-another. They met with the most hospitable and humane attention from the inhabitants of Sumatra; but Dampier's fever encreased so much, and his head became so distempered, that he could scarcely stand; he attempted to bleed himself with his pen-knife, but it was too blunt. As after ten or twelve days stay at this place, they did not perceive any amendment in their health, they resolved to go to Achin, where they arrived in the beginning of June, in a large prow, rowed by four men; one of the higher rank of the natives going with them, to give information to the government of their arrival. Three days after they reached Achin, the Portuguese died: Ambrose did not long survive him; Mr. Hall continued dangerously ill; Dampier had suffered least, but he was still in a precarious state. While he was yet very weak, though in less imminent danger, Captain Welden anchored at Achin, to sell the slaves which he had brought from Fort St. George; after which, he intended to proceed through the straits of Malacca, to Tonquin. He strongly pressed Captain Dampier and Mr. Hall to accompany him, promising to purchase a vessel at Tonquin, of which he would make the former commander, to trade to Cochin, China, and the adjacent countries: this promise, and the circumstance, that on board of Captain Welden's ship there was a good surgeon, of which both he and Mr. Hall were much in need, induced him to accept the offer. They accordingly sailed for Tonquin; of which kingdom, Dampier has given a description and account, with his usual accuracy and minuteness, drawn up in language, remarkable for its perspicuity and strength: but our object and design confine us to his personal adventures. He went twice up to Chacas, the metropolis of Tonquin: the first time in a passage boat; the second time on foot. In order

that he might see as much of the country as possible, he hired a Tonquinese, for about a dollar, to be his guide: this, though a small matter, was a great deal for him, for he had not above two dollars in all, which he had got on board Captain Welden's ship, by teaching some of the young seamen plain sailing. On what remained of this small sum, after paying his guide, they were both to be supported during the journey; and as Dampier was still weak, they were obliged to travel but a very few miles each day.

They set out about the end of November, 1688. The guide carried Dampier's sea gown, which was his covering in the night: his pillow was a log of wood: besides examining the country during his journey, every evening after supper, he took a ramble about the village, where he halted, to observe what was worth noticing. The third day after his setting out he observed a small tower, similar to those, which he was afterwards informed were erected to the honour of some great person deceased; but at that time he was ignorant of its use: near it were assembled a great number of men and boys; and on his approaching, he perceived a great deal of meat set out on stalls, at a short distance from the tower. Hence he naturally concluded that it was a butcher's market, and as he wished to purchase something for his supper, and being also incited by curiosity, he determined to go among the crowd, and supply himself. He could gain no information from his guide, even if he had any doubts respecting what he saw, for the guide did not understand English, and Dampier was completely ignorant of Tonquinese. He first walked all round the tower, and examined it carefully: it was four feet square; each side nearly eight feet broad; but the top was somewhat narrower than the bottom; the height was about twenty-six feet: it was very slightly built, being covered with thin deals joined close together, and painted a dark red colour: there seemed to

be no door to it. After he had examined the tower, he proceeded to the stalls; over these, sheds were built, and fruits and meat were arranged in great order, apart from each other. There were especially a great number of very fine oranges, packed up in baskets, more than he had seen gathered all the time he was at Tonquin: at last he came to the stalls, where meat alone was exhibited; but there was nothing but pork; some in the whole carcase, and some cut up into quarters and sides: it seemed all very good meat. As there was no piece sufficiently small for Dampier's use, he took hold of a quarter, and made signs to the person to whom the stall appeared to belong, to cut him off a piece of two or three pounds weight: but no sooner had he touched the pork, than he was beset on all sides, and made sensible that he had committed some error; the populace struck him, and tore his cloaths, and one of them snatched off his hat, and ran away with it. His guide immediately endeavoured to appease them, pulling Dampier out from the midst of them; some of the more violent followed them to a considerable distance, but at last having recovered the hat, they made their escape. After Dampier returned to the ship, he learnt that it was a funeral feast; that the tower was the tomb which was to be burnt, and that the country people resorted thither, to feast on the meat and fruits.

In the beginning of February, 1688-9, Dampier sailed out of the bay of Tonquin, and having passed through the straits of Malacca, by what are called Brewer's straits, through fear of the king of Siam, he arrived safely at Malacca, without any thing occurring worthy of notice. Captain Welden remained here, till he had finished his business, and then directed his course for Achin, where they arrived in the beginning of March, 1689. Dampier's next voyage from Achin was to Malacca, and he again returned to the former place in November. He departed finally from it in the beginning of 1690, for Fort St.

George; here he stayed about five months, and returned once more to Sumatra, not to Achin, but to Bencoolen, a factory which the English had then lately established on the west coast of the island. While he was at Fort St. George, the Indian prince, a native of Mandanas, who has been already mentioned, arrived with one Mr. Moody: this person had purchased him and his mother. Dampier and Moody soon became very intimate; and as the latter was going to Indrapore, he was very desirous that Dampier should accompany him; in order to induce him to this, he promised him, among other things, that he should take the Indian prince and his mother back to their own country, by which means he might establish a commerce with his people for cloves. Dampier, on this consented, but on their passage, contrary winds obliged them to put into Bencoolen, where he was persuaded by the governor to become gunner of the fort. On this occasion Mr. Moody behaved very honourably; for because Dampier had left Fort St. George on his account, he gave him the half share of the Indian prince and his mother. By the prince, Dampier hoped to be able to make a good deal of money, for he was painted, or rather tattaoed, in a singular manner. Soon after they came into his possession, they both fell sick, and the mother died. Before proceeding with the direct narrative, it may be proper to mention, that when Dampier arrived in England, he shewed this Indian prince for money; but afterwards falling into distressed circumstances, he was obliged to dispose of him. He was afterwards carried about for a show, and it is said, died at Oxford.

Dampier soon grew tired of his situation and employment at Bencoolen, and became very desirous of returning to England. He applied for this purpose to the governor and counsel, and they gave their consent that he should embark in the first vessel that sailed for England. On the 2d of January, 1691, the *Defence*, a ship belonging

to the East India Company, commanded by Captain Heath, arrived in Bencoolen bay: but upon Captain Heath's arrival, the governor revoked his permission, and Dampier, after several attempts, at last made his escape by creeping through one of the port holes of the fort, and getting to the shore, where the ship's boat was waiting for him, and took him on board.

They sailed for the Cape of Good Hope January 25th; they had not been long at sea, before thirty of their men died: the distemper which proved so fatal, Dampier is disposed to attribute to the badness of the water, which they took in at Bencoolen; but besides the natural badness of the water, it was stowed among the pepper in the hold, which rendered it excessively pungent and disagreeable; it was, indeed, so extremely hot, that in the morning, when their allowance was served out, they could scarcely bear their hands in it, or even hold a bottle full of it. It was also exceedingly black, and had the appearance of ink rather than water. Their food was likewise very bad; the ship had been from England three years, and the salt provisions were the same they had brought from thence. The disorder of which the men died, came on them so gradually and insensibly, that they did not feel or think themselves ill; they had no pain, only weakness, and but little appetite: most of them that died, could scarcely be persuaded to keep their cabins, till they were no longer able to walk: there was scarcely a man in the ship but was attacked by this disorder. Before they reached the Cape, the crew were so weakened that they could scarcely work the ship; about the beginning of April they arrived there. Captain Heath lost no time in refreshing his men, and strengthening his crew by such men as he could pick up. On the 23d of May they sailed from the Cape; and on the 16th of September, 1691, they came to anchor in the Downs.

Soon after his return to England, Captain Dampier published two volumes of his voyages, the first volume contained his voyage round the world, with the exception of the trips that he made from Achin; the second volume contained a Supplement to the Voyage round the World, comprising those trips; his two voyages to Campeachy; and a discourse on trade winds, bréeses, storms, seasons of the year, tides, and currents of the torrid zone throughout the world; with an account of Natal in Africa. The character and merit of these volumes may in some measure be ascertained from the extracts that have been given, and will be afterwards described more fully. The first volume was dedicated to Charles Montague, esq. at that time president of the Royal Society; the second to Edward, Earl of Oxford, then first lord of the Admiralty, to whose notice he appears to have been recommended by Mr. Montague, and through whose interest, eight years after his arrival in England, he was appointed to the command of the *Roebuck*, then equipping for a voyage of discovery.

This vessel does not appear to have been at all fit for such a long and perilous voyage; she was very small, carrying only twelve guns, and extremely old and infirm; the crew consisted of fifty men and boys, who were neither bold nor experienced seamen. As Captain Dampier had always been fond of natural history, he took with him a person skilled in drawing, in order to obtain accurate representations of the most curious birds, beasts, fishes, and plants. On the 14th of January, 1698-9, the *Roebuck* sailed from the Downs, with twenty months provision on board; they touched first at the Canary, and then at the Cape Verde islands; from there he resolved to proceed to New Holland, putting first into some port in Brazil; after some deliberation he fixed on Pernambuco, but his men soon became refractory, either from his want of steady, regular, and firm discipline, or from their

want of experience, and their being totally unaccustomed to such long and distant voyages, for only two of them had ever crossed the line before. So refractory did they become, that Captain Dampier was afraid they would have mutinied; and thinking with such a crew he should never be able to weather Cape St. Augustine, he resolved to direct his course for the bay of All Saints, where, if necessary, he could have the assistance of the governor to keep his men in order and subjection. The commencement of the voyage was thus very disheartening, and promised no great success to the undertaking, on account of which it had been planned. At the bay of All Saints, they continued about a month; and during this period, Captain Dampier's principal endeavour was to allay the ferment that had been raised among his crew; to gain their confidence, and to inspire them with a due degree of respect for him; but this he found extremely difficult: they were persuaded, that the scheme of proceeding to New Holland was impracticable, and that the captain was going to conduct them to certain destruction. At last, seeing that he was determined to proceed, some of them spoke against him to the inquisition; and he was told by a merchant that it would be safer for him not to go on shore, if he wished to escape that tribunal. On the 23d of April they sailed from this place; and on the 3d of June, near the Cape of Good Hope, they joined the *Antelope*, of London, bound to the bay of Bengal, with whom they kept company till the next day, when having passed the Cape, Dampier directed his course E.S.E. for New Holland. On the evening of the 5th, the sun set in a black cloud that had much the appearance of land, while the clouds above it were of a dark red colour: a little before the sun appeared above the horizon the next morning, the clouds were gilded in a singularly striking and beautiful manner; but Captain Dampier did not like the appearance. The sun had not

risen two degrees before it entered into a dark, smoaky-coloured cloud, parallel with the horizon, and from this cloud, a great number of beams, of a dusky hue, were projected. The rest of the sky was covered with hard clouds, as they are called; *i. e.* clouds which do not indicate rain; such of them as were nearest to the banks of clouds at the horizon, were for three or four degrees above the banks, of a pure gold colour: higher up, to about ten degrees, they were redder and very bright; and from this, to sixty or seventy degrees, they were of a still darker colour; above that to the zenith, they were of the usual colour. These, in the opinion of Dampier, were all signs of an approaching storm; against which he provided, by reefing the topsails, and ordering them to be instantly taken in if the wind increased. About twelve at night, a pale whitish glare was observed in the north west, which indicated that the storm was fast approaching; before two in the morning it blew very fierce, and the ship was put before wind and sea: she, however, steered very well. It continued to blow hard all the 7th of June, a brisk gale till the 16th, and a moderate one till the 19th, by which time they had run about six hundred leagues, for the wind all the time was favourable. On the 1st of August they made New Holland, in latitude twenty-six degrees south, having stretched directly over from Brazil, at about one hundred and fourteen degrees. Soon afterwards they came to anchor in Shark's bay, and having continued here some time, Captain Dampier resolved to explore the north coast of New Holland; this he accordingly did, making several discoveries till the beginning of September, when he set sail towards Timor, for the purpose of careening his ship, and recruiting his crew, who had suffered dreadfully from the scurvy.

On the 12th of December, 1699, having accomplished these objects, Dampier left Timor, and arrived off the

coast of New Guinea, on the 1st of January, 1700, where he made several discoveries, and in particular ascertained that what was before deemed the easternmost parts, does not join the main land, but is an island. To this island, Dampier gave the name of New Britain; on the passage between it and New Guinea, his own name has since been deservedly bestowed. He intended to have examined this island thoroughly, but was prevented by the foul state in which his ship was; the fewness of his crew, their desire to hasten home, and the danger, in these circumstances, of continuing in seas where the shoals and coasts were utterly unknown; besides this, the period of the eastern monsoon was approaching; he therefore resolved to direct his course for Batavia, where he arrived in the beginning of July. Here he lay till the 17th of October, when, having refitted his ship, and laid in a supply of provisions and water, and the season of the year for sailing for Europe being arrived, he left Batavia. Nothing particular occurred till the 21st of February, when they came in sight of the island of Ascousion. On the morning of the following day, the ship sprung a leak, which encreased so rapidly and violently, that in a short time, the chain pump could not keep her clear; at length, by great and unintermitted exertions, the water was got under. The following morning she came to an anchor in the bay, about two miles from the shore; that part of the ship where the leak seemed to be, was cleared, but the plank was found to be so rotten, that it broke like dirt. It was now too evident that if they remained on board, they would perish; the boats were therefore immediately hoisted out, although it was dark, that if the vessel gave indications of foundering, the crew might be saved. When day broke, the anchor was weighed, but the wind was off shore till the afternoon, when it changing, by the help of a small anchor, carried out ahead, they brought her into three and a half fathoms. The crew now exerted

themselves to save all they could; and they succeeded in getting on shore, upon a raft, all their chests and bedding, and the sails for the purpose of tents. On the island they fortunately procured plenty of turtle and water, with which they supported themselves till the arrival of three English men-of-war, and the Canterbury East India ship, on the 3d of April; Captain Dampier and some of his officers came to England in the last mentioned vessel.

He soon afterwards published a third volume of his Voyages, containing the Voyage to New Holland. This volume he dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, who was then lord president, but who, during a part of King William's reign, had been first lord of the Admiralty. In this dedication he complains, that the world is apt to judge of every thing by the success; and that he had suffered extremely in his reputation by the loss of the Roebuck. In the preface, also, he is full of complaints; he either had permitted his misfortune to prey on his temper, and to render it peevish and irritable; or his uncommon merit, as a narrator of his own voyages, had stirred up a captious and envious spirit against him: it was objected to him by some, he remarks, that his descriptions were dry, and jejune; and by others, that he had borrowed from the journals of other men; while some were apt to slight his accounts, as if what he had done and described were an easy matter.

In the third volume he did not give an account of his voyage at full length, further than to his departure from the coast of New Holland; and for this he apologizes, that he was preparing for another voyage sooner than he expected. This volume is dated in 1703, and in the Gazette of the 18th of April of that year, it is stated that "Captain William Dampier, being prepared to depart on another voyage to the West Indies, had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand on Friday last, being introduced by his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral." It

would appear, however, that he did not sail on this expedition till the year 1704; he published no account of it, and the particulars known are extremely few, unconnected, and unsatisfactory.

The ship of which he had the command on this occasion, was called the *St. George*; a Captain Stradling, in a vessel called the *Cinque Ports*, sailed in company with him: nothing is known respecting the size and equipment of these vessels, nor respecting the particular object of the voyage. One of Captain Dampier's biographers states, that Captain Stradling's vessel foundered at sea; but this is not strictly correct. All we know respecting either him or Dampier during this expedition, is derived from Captain Woodes Rogers, in his *Narrative of a cruising Voyage round the World*. When he arrived at *Lobos*, he was informed that there had been no enemy in those parts since Captain Dampier, about the year 1704; that Captain Stradling's ship foundered on the coast of *Barbacour*, where he, with six or seven of his men, were only saved, and being taken in their boat, were four years prisoners at *Lima*; but Rogers afterwards met with Stradling himself, who stated that his ship did not actually founder, but that being in a sinking state, they ran her on an island, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners to the Spaniards, who carried them to *Lima*; and on their attempting to escape, they were put in a close dungeon, used very barbarously, and threatened to be sent to the mines. In this attempt they succeeded so far, as to have obtained a canoe, in which they went from *Lima* towards *Panama*, nearly four hundred leagues, intending to cross the *Isthmus*, and so to reach *Jamaica*. Stradling afterwards effected his escape in a French ship, which brought him to Europe. Dampier and Stradling must have parted company before the misfortune of the latter; for as Dampier was with Rogers in his voyage, he must have known the particulars of Stradling's misfor-

tune, if the ships had been together at the time. From some passages in Rogers's narrative, we collect that Dampier, in his voyage in the *St. George*, was in Tecames road; that off the main land of Mexico, he met the Manilla ship, and had a fight at a distance, but for want of men could not board her, and after a short engagement, was forced to let her alone; that he plundered Puna in 1704; that when at Lobos, he left his ship, the *St. George*, at anchor, and went to the East Indies in a Spanish brigantine, with about twenty-five men, and that having lost his commission at Puna, he was imprisoned for want of it, and had all his goods seized in the East Indies by the Dutch.

In the year 1708, the Duke and Duchess privateers, were fitted out by a company of merchants, for a cruising voyage round the world; the command of the former was given to Captain Woodes Rogers, who published an account of the voyage; and of the latter, to Captain Courtney. Captain Dampier was appointed pilot for the South Seas, on account of his having been three times there, and twice round the world: John Ballot is also mentioned in the list of the Duke's officers and men, as "rated third mate, but designed surgeon, if occasion; he had been Captain Dampier's doctor, in his last unfortunate voyage round the world." Dampier was appointed one of the council, to direct the affairs of the two ships; and his name appears to all the resolutions and proceedings of this council; but that he was not considered, strictly speaking, as an officer, is apparent from an agreement to which the officers of both ships set their names, in order to prevent confusion; for in this list, the name of Dampier is not found. There is reason to believe, that his want of success in his two former voyages, when he had acted as captain, was partly attributed to his deficiency in those qualities, which in a naval commander, are absolutely necessary to secure and preserve subordination. At a committee

held on board the *Duke*, when Rogers and his companion had come to the resolution to attack *Guiaquil*, the management and care of the guns were assigned to Dampier and another person with twenty-one men under them; in this attack, he was accordingly employed with the artillery. In their passage from *Juan* towards *Ternate*, he was particularly consulted; and in consequence of his representations, that if they could not reach *Ternate*, or find the island *Tula*, they would be able to reach no port to recruit at, and that it would be impossible to get provisions on the coast of *New Guinea*, a committee was held on board the *Duke*, in which it was resolved, that if they could not reach *Ternate*, nor *Tula*, they should make the best of their way to some port in *Mindanao*. When they reached the island of *Bouton*, Dampier, who had been there before, was sent in one of the pinnaces on shore, to wait upon the king, and endeavour to procure a supply of provisions, in which, however, he only partly succeeded. The last time he is mentioned in Rogers's *Narrative*, is on the occasion of a committee, held to deliberate respecting the division of the plunder; by this committee, Dampier, and the person who had acted under him when he had the management of the guns, were appointed judges of what ought to be divided as plunder. On the 14th of October, 1711, the two ships arrived in the *Thames*. There is no information respecting the further particulars of Dampier's life, or the place, time, or circumstances of his death. There is a portrait of him in the *Trinity House*, on *Tower Hill*.

Dampier may justly be regarded as no common man, especially when the circumstances and situation under the influence of which he passed nearly the whole of his life, are taken into consideration. His mind was acute, sagacious, and comprehensive: his curiosity and thirst after knowledge unbounded, and being directed and assisted by a mind of such a frame and character, he was

enabled to satisfy them in the most ample and satisfactory manner. When we recollect that the minute, extensive and faithful descriptions which he has given to the world respecting the physical appearance; the natural history and productions; the trade and manufactures; the manners, habits, customs, religion and general character of the countries which he visited, must have been drawn up in the midst of an employment, certainly not well calculated to nourish or preserve a desire after knowledge, nor to afford time or opportunities to gratify that desire; and that many of his observations, especially those which regard the Isthmus of Darien, must have been made at a time when self preservation made large and almost constant demands on his thoughts and attention, we shall be induced to estimate the powers of Dampier's mind very highly. Humboldt, certainly no inadequate judge, calls him a great navigator; and expressly says, speaking of the Isthmus of Darien, that the illustrious *Sçavans* La Condamine, Don George Juan, and Ulloa, though they sojourned three months in that interesting region, have added little to the observations which we owe to Dampier and to Wager, who, it will be recollected spent a comparatively short time in that country.

The natural acuteness and sagacity of Dampier's mind, aided probably by no regular or systematic education, and certainly not assisted by any advantages in after life, enabled him to give the character, without the form of philosophy, to the valuable professional observations which he has offered on the trade winds, seasons, &c. And it has been declared by no mean judge, of whatever relates to natural history, that his "observations on natural history, though not properly scientific, are so clear and particular, that they have been much quoted, as authority by writers on the subject, and have been mostly confirmed by later voyages."

As a writer, he is entitled to high praise: his style is extremely clear, and perspicuous, yet strong, precise, and compact; it evidently flows from a mind, which possessed a thorough mastery of the subject on which it treated, and whose most anxious, or rather only desire, was to convey to the reader all it felt and knew, in the most perspicuous, and striking manner.

But the highest praise that can be bestowed on Dampier, because the rarest, which men in his situation can justly claim, is, that he retained good principles, notwithstanding the temptations to which he was exposed, from his line of life, and the character of his companions: indeed we may fairly conclude, that, as he seems to have embarked in the expeditions in which he spent the greatest part of his life, rather from a desire of acquiring knowledge, than from the usual motives, which influenced the buccaneers,—so the constant and powerful operation of this desire, preserved his natural character untainted, in the midst of his companions. To the virtues of sobriety and temperance, to which, if he was not naturally inclined, he was strongly and successfully prompted, by the conviction, that, without them, his favourite pursuits could not be regularly and successfully followed; we may fairly ascribe his preservation in the midst of the unwholesome climates, to which he was exposed, and the fatigues and hardships which he underwent.

Considered merely as a nautical character, Dampier was undoubtedly wanting in some of its most essential requisites; he had a considerable share of experience and skill, on which his companions seemed to have relied, in the most imminent, perplexing, and threatening dangers into which they fell, with the most implicit and flattering confidence; but as a person, who was to command as well as to direct seamen, he was not so successful, nor so highly gifted. The peculiar and radical cause of this defect in his professional character, we can only con-
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ture; but it seems to have arisen from the scientific turn of his mind,—from his aversion to that severe, or rather harsh discipline, which the crews of the buccaneers absolutely required; and from his unwillingness to mix in their scenes of riot and debauchery. That he had a vigorous and commanding character, there can be no doubt; and whenever his companions were in extreme danger, that character stood forth, and, aided by his skill and experience, which were always available, and at his command, even on the shortest notice, and in the most perplexing circumstances, secured him their respect, obedience and gratitude.

His voyages have been frequently published, and have been translated into several of the European languages: in his last voyage, he made a collection of curious plants, which were deposited, by order of the Royal Society, in the hands of Dr. Woodward.

MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN STEPHEN LEAKE, MASTER GUNNER OF ENGLAND; SIR JOHN LEAKE; AND CAPTAIN MARTIN LEAKE.

SIR JOHN LEAKE was the second son of Richard Leake, master gunner of England. As the character and actions of the latter are interesting, we shall give the outlines of his life, before we proceed to the memoirs of his son.

This gentleman, not less distinguished by his own talents, than by being the father of Sir John Leake, was born at Harwich, in the year 1629: of the situation and business of his father, we know nothing; but it is extremely probable that he also followed a seafaring life: to this Richard Leake was bred. Soon after the commencement of the civil war, his father, who seems to have been not only a steady, but a violent partizan of the parliament, obliged his son to take the same side; Richard, however,

entertaining opinions and principles diametrically opposite, took the very first opportunity that presented itself, to desert, notwithstanding by the interest of his father; and by his known and tried attachment to the republican party, he had received a commission in the fleet, under the command of the Earl of Warwick. Richard Leake could not but be aware of the consequences of thus deserting the cause of the parliament: his father, as we have already observed, was not only violently devoted to that cause, but he was naturally of a warm temper; and entertained very strict ideas of filial obedience: but the son had made up his mind to desert a cause, which he was convinced was unjust, and hostile to the real interests of his country: it was, however, necessary to be very guarded and circumspect, both in planning and executing his scheme, especially as he had persuaded several of the seamen of the ship, in which he was, to accompany him. Having concerted their scheme, they seized one of the boats, and during a dark night, made off from the ship: his father, who was also on board the same vessel, had long suspected the alienation of his son's mind from the parliamentary cause, and therefore was very watchful of his conduct: he had ordered a strict look-out to be kept, and very shortly after the boat put off from the side of the ship, he was informed of the circumstance; his indignation against his son, united to what he conceived to be his sense of duty, both as a naval officer, and a republican, immediately determined his conduct on the occasion; he ordered several guns to be fired after the boat, for the purpose either of stopping or sinking her. Richard Leake, and his companions, however, got safe on shore. It is highly probable from the character of the father, that if his son had been taken in this design to desert, he not only would have delivered him with the utmost readiness to the full and immediate punishment of the law, but would have felt proud at his display and exercise of Roman fortitude.

he died soon afterwards in defence of the parliamentary cause.

Richard Leake having thus effected his escape, entered as a volunteer into the king's service: there is no account of the actions in which he was engaged, during the civil wars: all that we know respecting him is, that when the royal cause became desperate, he left this country, retired into Holland and entered into the Dutch artillery: here the natural bent of his genius first had an opportunity of displaying itself; he had strong powers of mind, united to great acuteness and penetration; and these powers, from some incidental cause, were directed to the study and improvement of mechanics, more particularly those branches of mechanics which relate to gunnery and fortification. While he was in the Dutch artillery, he devoted all his leisure hours to this particular branch of study, and soon distinguished himself for a more philosophical knowledge of his profession, than even the higher officers of artillery at that time possessed. Notwithstanding, however, that his mind was thus actively employed, and that his talents and acquirements do not appear to have been either unnoticed or unrewarded, his inclination to revisit his native country, grew so strong upon him, that he determined to indulge it as soon as he could do it with safety; accordingly he returned to England, some time before the restoration, where he married. Soon after his marriage he entered into the merchant's service, and in this employment he made two voyages up the Mediterranean; during these, his two eldest sons, Henry and John were born.

At the restoration his loyalty and sufferings were not suffered to go unrewarded; and the reward was of that nature, most agreeable to his inclination, and adapted to his pursuits; for he was appointed master-gunner of the *Princess*, a frigate of fifty guns. Hitherto, only the qualities of his mind had been called into action, but not

long after this appointment, he had several signal opportunities of displaying his courage ; particularly during the first Dutch war, in two extraordinary actions, one against fifteen sail of Rotterdam men-of-war ; and another, in the year 1667, in the Baltic, against two Danish vessels : on both these occasions, his skill in his particular line was not more remarkable or useful towards success and victory, than his personal bravery. It so happened in both these desperate and hard-fought engagements, that all the principal officers of the Princess were either killed, or so severely wounded, as not to be able to direct or encourage the seamen : under these circumstances, according to the rules of the navy at that time, the command devolved upon Mr. Leake, as the gunner of the ship ; it was therefore necessary for him, not only to display and bring into action his personal bravery and professional skill, but also to exert himself to encourage the men, who, by the fall of their officers, were rather disposed to be dispirited. So well, however, did he succeed in this arduous and critical situation, as to give great satisfaction to the Duke of York, who at that time was lord high admiral. As this satisfaction was expressed uncalled for, and in the most flattering manner, Mr. Leake was very naturally led to expect a captain's commission : in this expectation, however, he was disappointed ; the commission which he looked forward to, was given to another before he returned to the Baltic. In order, however, in some measure to make up for his disappointment, and to gratify the expectation that he had excited, the Duke of York, on his arrival in England, signed a warrant, dated June 8, 1667, to the commissioners of the navy, to pay him thirty pounds, till an opportunity offered of rewarding him in a more lucrative, permanent, and honourable manner. As his services were acknowledged to be great, and his proficiency in, as well as his predilection for gunnery were well known, on the 13th of August, in the same year, he

was appointed one of his majesty's gunners within the Tower of London: the warrant for this appointment expressly states, that it was "in consideration of his good" and faithful service to his majesty during the war with "the French, Danes, and Dutch, both by sea and land." From this last expression, it is evident that his services as a gunner were not confined to sea, though no particulars are known of the occasion, period, or occurrences of his services by land.

His situation, as one of his majesty's gunners within the Tower of London, either did not require his attendance there, and was not incompatible with other situations, or he did not hold it long; for in the year 1669, he was appointed to be gunner of the Royal Prince, a first rate man-of-war: while in this ship, on board of which also his sons, Henry and John, served, he had another opportunity of displaying his courage on an occasion still more signal and honourable to himself, than those already mentioned; for in the year 1673, he was engaged in the famous battle with Van Tromp. In this battle, it is well known, that the Royal Prince bore a most distinguished and principal part, and suffered very seriously: all her masts were shot away, nearly four hundred of her crew were either killed or totally disabled, and most of her upper tier of guns were dismounted. In this state, a complete wreck, unmanageable, even if there had remained a sufficient number of men to manage her, a large Dutch man-of-war, accompanied with two fire-ships, bore down upon her, for the purpose and in the expectation of either burning her, or carrying her off: there seemed to be no possibility of escaping; and so strongly convinced of this was the captain-lieutenant, Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Rooke, whose skill and bravery were indisputable, that he considered it his duty to consult only the preservation of the lives of the remainder of the crew, and therefore gave orders for the colours to be struck. As soon as Mr.

Leake heard this, regardless of danger, and even at the risk of being tried for disobedience of orders, he told the lieutenant to go off the quarter deck, assumed the command of the ship himself, and heroically exclaimed, "The Royal Prince shall never be given up to the enemy, while I am alive to defend her!" After this exclamation, he called upon his two sons, of whom Henry was his first mate, and communicated to them his resolution, adding, that if they possessed the spirit of their father, he did not despair of saving the ship. He spoke to sons worthy of him, and such was the animating nature and tendency of their exertions and example, that the surviving crew regained their confidence and hopes, returned with vigour and alacrity to the battle, and animated and directed by the valiant gunner and his two sons, succeeded not only in saving the Royal Prince, but in sinking both the fire-ships, and compelling the Dutch man-of-war to sheer off. This glorious consequence of Mr. Leake's undaunted bravery was, however, purchased dearly by him; for at the very moment when his son Henry was proving himself worthy of his father, he fell very near him. Mr. Leake felt this loss as became a man and a parent; but it was no small consolation that his son had died the death of honour, and under circumstances of such distinguished glory and advantage to his country. After he had succeeded in preserving the Royal Prince, he brought her into Chatham; and all who saw the vessel half burnt, and reduced nearly to a wreck, with her diminished and exhausted crew, bore cheerful and gratifying testimony to the skill and courage of the man who had prevented her from falling into the possession of the enemy.

Of the events of his life, which immediately followed this glorious conduct, we have no full or minute account; but sufficient is known to convince us, that his bravery and success did not go without their reward, though that

reward seems scarcely to have been adequate to his merit and services. The next situation in which we find him, was that of commander of a yacht; but as this afforded no opportunity for the display or improvement of his professional talents, he was soon afterwards made master gunner of Whitehall. In the year 1677, he was rewarded in a manner adequate to his merit and services, and which must have been most gratifying to the inclination and habits of his mind; for he obtained a grant for life of the office of master gunner of England. This office, at this time, was one of very great importance, and no small influence and emolument; but Mr. Leake was a man of such a character, that mere honour and emolument, if they were not conjoined with opportunities of indulging the bent of his mind, were not regarded by him as of much consequence. This trait in his character was well known, and that it might be turned to as much national advantage as possible, he was appointed storekeeper of the ordnance at Woolwich nearly at the same time that he was made master gunner of England. It does not often happen, that by the mere act of rewarding merit, and long and faithful services, that merit is afforded fuller and more favourable opportunities for displaying itself, and those services are extended; so it was, however, in the case of Mr. Leake. By these appointments he had full scope, as well as sufficient motive, for the exercise of his genius; and he soon manifested his gratitude for his appointment, by the benefits he bestowed on his country: indeed, such were the vigour and activity of his mind, and so predominant and influencing his fondness for the improvement of every thing connected with gunnery, that it was absolutely impossible for him to be idle: nor was there any danger that his schemes would be merely speculative and theoretical; his practical knowledge was so extensive and accurate, as effectually to protect him against the too common misfortune of speculative men;

while, on the other hand, his experience was so well directed, and so thoroughly enlightened by an acquaintance with the philosophical principles of the art of gunnery, that he was equally protected against the common error of mere practical men, who obstinately and ignorantly refuse the aid of theory. It would lead us too far astray from the immediate object of this work, to describe or even notice all his inventions or improvements; a few of the most remarkable or important we shall, however, touch upon: of these, what was called the cushee piece, claims our notice and description first, both because in it his inventive, and not merely his improving, powers were displayed; and because, by the use of the cushee piece, his son, Sir John Leake, was enabled to do considerable service on an important occasion, which we shall afterwards state more fully, and thus brought himself forward in the navy.

The cushee piece acquired its appellation from the circumstance, that it was to be placed in that part of the forecastle of a ship, which corresponds to what is called the cushee of a galley: it was firmly fixed, and constructed in such a manner, as to fire shells and carcasses instead of shot; its aim was so steady and regular, and the carcasses, when properly filled, were so certain of not exploding till they reached their object, that it seldom failed doing great execution; yet notwithstanding the construction of it was so ingenious, and on trial it was found to answer so very satisfactorily, it does not appear to have been generally, or for any length of time, made use of. The cause of its being withdrawn from the public service, is variously accounted for: some suppose that Sir John Leake, to whom the father seems to have given up the invention, after he had so successfully employed it on the occasion already alluded to, considered it too desperate and destructive to be brought into general and regular use; while others are of opinion that he felt an

aversion to it, which he could not overcome, after the fatal accident which happened to his brother Edward, who was blown up at Woolwich, as he was preparing the composition of the cushee shells. Whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that Sir John Leake did not recommend it; nor does it appear ever to have been employed after his first successful use of it.

Before Mr. Leake's time, mortars were fired by a very indirect, hazardous, and uncertain mode; by setting fire to the fusee first, and then to the mortars. Being struck with the inconvenience and danger of this mode, he applied his mechanical genius to alter or improve it: the result was, that he contrived to fire a mortar by the blast of a piece; and thus, by a simple contrivance, did away not only the danger, but the uncertainty and delay of the former mode.

The author of the life of Sir John Leake asserts, that Mr. Leake was the principal contriver of what the French call infernals, used at the bombardment of St. Maloes in the year 1693: these we shall have occasion to notice and describe; and from that it will be sufficiently evident that Mr. Leake was not the contriver of them, as they were used long before his time: it is highly probable, however, that though not the contriver, he was the improver of them.

Mr. Leake was distinguished above most engineers of his time, by uniting a profound knowledge of those branches of natural philosophy, which more closely and particularly relate to gunnery, with an ingenious turn for making all sorts of compositions for fire-works; so that while his mechanical genius enabled him to improve the instruments by which shots, carcasses, shells, &c. were to be thrown, the other branch of his knowledge and experience enabled him to make his compositions of such materials, as seldom or ever to fail in doing their part of the execution. It is particularly stated by the author of

the life of Sir John Leake, that he had frequent trials of skill with French and Dutch gunners and engineers, in the warren, at Woolwich, at which King Charles and the Duke of York were often present, and that he never failed to baffle all his competitors: he was equally skilled in that branch of pyrotechny, which consists in the art of composing those fire-works, which are for display and amusement, and not for destruction.

In these and similar inventions and improvements he amused himself, and benefited his country, during his retirement from active life. He died at Woolwich, in the month of July, 1696, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried at that place: he had had three sons, Henry, John, and Edward, and one daughter, Elizabeth; but only his second son, John, and his daughter, survived him. The particulars of the death of Henry and Edward have been already noticed. He was a man of a singular, and not a very amiable disposition; and, from some cause not explained or known, in his will he appointed his daughter his sole executrix, leaving to his son only one moiety of his books and instruments, and the other moiety to his daughter's son. The author of the life of Sir John Leake, already quoted, says, that this unfair and unequal distribution of his property, was a proof that his resentment for the ill success of his cushee piece continued to the last, as John was always a dutiful and affectionate son; but this conjecture is evidently not borne out by the facts which are known respecting the cushee piece; for, as far as his son was concerned, it succeeded extremely well, and therefore it is hardly to be imagined, that disappointment at its being afterwards laid aside should direct its ill-will or suspicion against one who was not merely blameless, but who had done all in his power to make the invention answer the expectations of his father: it is much more probable that some other cause, perhaps so slight and evanescent, as not to have been noticed at

the time, acting on a suspicious disposition and an irritable temper, induced Mr. Leake to make the will which he did.

Mr. Leake appears, both by his example and advice, to have directed the thoughts and inclinations of all his sons, very early in life, to the same profession that he himself followed; and in order that they might distinguish themselves in it, he instructed them in mathematics and gunnery. John, whose life we are now about to narrate, entered, when he was very young, into the navy as a midshipman; and, as has been already mentioned, nobly seconded his father, in 1673, in the memorable engagement between Sir Edward Spragge and Van Tromp; at this time he was only seventeen years old. On the termination of the Dutch war, which happened soon after this action, finding that he was not likely, during peace, to rise rapidly in the navy, he entered into the merchant service, and obtained the command of a vessel, which traded up the Mediterranean: in this employment, however, he continued only for two or three voyages, as his inclination still strongly pointed towards the navy. The character and services of his father by this time were so well known, and so justly appreciated, that the son entertained reasonable expectations of preferment; and, in fact, very soon after he returned to the navy, he was offered a lieutenant's commission; but this he refused, being extremely desirous of obtaining the situation of master gunner. This preference, at the present time, will appear surprising and unaccountable; but at the period to which this part of our memoir relates, the post of master gunner was one of considerable emolument and rank, and on many accounts preferable to the rank of lieutenant. The master gunners were allowed the privilege of wearing their swords on shore; they kept company with the commissioned officers, and they were respected by all: with regard to emolument, they were always on

full pay, though they never went out of harbour; whereas in time of peace, very few commissioned officers were employed, and none were entitled to half pay, except such captains as, in the preceding war, had commanded first and second rates. The consideration of all these circumstances induced Mr. Leake to refuse the commission of a lieutenant when it was offered to him, and patiently to wait till he should be appointed gunner: he also was persuaded, both from the usual custom of the navy, and from the interest which his father possessed, that the situation of gunner would be a certain and near step to a command.

Shortly afterwards, his father was advanced from being gunner of the *Neptune*, a second rate man-of-war, to the command of a yacht; and his father's post being offered to him, he gladly accepted it: as, however, at this period, 1675, the nation was at peace, he had no opportunity either of distinguishing himself, or of rising in his profession. In 1688, a powerful fleet, under the Earl of Dartmouth, was fitted out by the command of King James, for the purpose of preventing the landing of the Prince of Orange. Old Mr. Leake was at this time master gunner of England, and had, a very short time before, invented the cushee piece already described; as this was the first opportunity of giving it a fair trial, he proposed its introduction into the Earl of Dartmouth's fleet; and this being acceded to, in order that the invention might have a fair trial, under the direction of one not only intimately acquainted with its nature and principles, but interested in its success, the *Firedrake* fire-ship was ordered to be equipped, and his son John was appointed to command her. His commission was dated the 4th of September, 1688; and having prepared every thing necessary for his purpose, he joined the fleet of the Earl of Dartmouth; but that nobleman going over to the interest of the Prince of Orange, there was at that time no

opportunity of trying the merits of the cushee piece. Mr. John Leake followed the example of the other officers of the fleet, and joined in an address to the new sovereign. In consequence of this, he was continued in the command of the *Firedrake*; and in the following year, in the battle of Bantry bay, at length had a favourable opportunity of bringing the cushee piece into action. As we have already noticed, it succeeded equal to the most sanguine expectations; one of the French squadron, commanded by the Chevalier Coetlegon, being set fire to by means of it, part of the vessel was blown up, and she narrowly escaped being destroyed. After this success, it was directed against several other vessels of the squadron, and though they were not nearly so much injured by it, yet they were considerably damaged.

Within two days after this successful display of the merits of the cushee piece, to which Mr. John Leake had not a little contributed by his attention and skill, the Admiral Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, who had witnessed what had taken place, gave him the command of the *Dartmouth*; in this vessel he had an early and signal opportunity of distinguishing himself by his bravery. Being ordered to take under his convoy the *Mountjoy* and *Phœnix*, two vessels deeply laden with provisions for the relief of the garrison of Londonderry, at that time reduced to the utmost straits; the plan of breaking the boom, which was happily carried into execution by the *Mountjoy*, is said to have been suggested by Captain Leake; and he undoubtedly, by his steady and judicious fire from the *Dartmouth*, enabled the *Phœnix* to pass the boom, after it had been broken: the result of this enterprise is well known,—the siege of Londonderry was raised. Major-general Kirk, who commanded the land forces, and who witnessed the whole enterprise, was so pleased with the conduct and bravery of Captain Leake, that he gave him a company in his

own regiment; and the rank and emoluments of this he retained many years after he was a flag officer. It was not to be expected that this service, thus rewarded by one, who, though sensible of its importance, could not be the most adequate judge of its peculiar merit, should be passed over by the naval commander; accordingly, the Dartmouth having been paid off very soon after the relief of Londonderry, he was appointed captain of the Oxford, a fourth rate of fifty-four guns; and in the following year, 1690, on the 4th of May, he was promoted by the admiral to the command of the Eagle, a third rate of seventy guns.

While he held this command, he was appointed one of the members of the court martial before whom the Earl of Torrington was tried, for his conduct in the engagement off Beachy head, with the French fleet under the Count de Tourville. In this situation he had a very delicate and arduous task to perform: from the Earl of Torrington, Captain Leake had received many favours; to him he was indebted for his appointment to the command of the Dartmouth, as well as for his subsequent promotions; it was therefore necessary to guard against the influence of private gratitude, in a case where the national interest and honour were so deeply and essentially concerned. Besides, a popular clamour had been raised against the admiral, and there was reason to suppose, that some of those who sate on the court martial had suffered themselves to be influenced by this popular clamour. Captain Leake, most fortunately for his own feelings, on this occasion, was convinced by the evidence adduced on the trial, that public duty and private gratitude demanded from him the very same line of conduct; and this line he determined to pursue at all hazards, for, as we are informed by the writer of his life, "when he found the court wavering in their opinion, and it

“ was insinuated that the eyes of the whole kingdom were
“ upon them, expecting justice to condemn the admiral,
“ and that even both threats and promises were likewise
“ urged, to work upon the members of the court to find
“ him guilty, Captain Leake generously undertook to
“ defend his cause, examined every particular of his lord-
“ ship’s conduct, and so fully justified him, that he
“ brought over the majority to acquit him, and to confirm
“ that sentence under their hands, when the ministry
“ returned it to be reconsidered.”

In the year 1692; at the famous battle of La Hogue, his bravery was remarkably conspicuous. At this battle he still commanded the *Eagle*, which was stationed in the line next but one to the vessel commanded by Captain, afterwards Admiral Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough. Captain Churchill, in consequence of the ship immediately adjoining his being forced out of the line, was placed in a perilous situation, being exposed to the fire of a very superior force. As soon as Captain Leake perceived this, he bravely bore up to his support, and the *Eagle* was managed and fought with so much skill and bravery, as to extricate Captain Churchill from his danger, and to draw upon her the admiration and applause of the whole fleet: indeed, that she bore a very principal and conspicuous part in this engagement, is sufficiently evident, from the loss that she sustained; for seventeen of her guns were dismounted, seventy of her crew killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. A few days after this action, Sir George Rooke shifted his flag on board of her, for the purpose of attempting the destruction of several of the enemy’s ships, which had taken refuge under Cape La Hogue. Thirteen of them had got so high up in the bay, that only the small frigates could reach them: under these circumstances, the boats were manned, and advanced with such cool and undaunted

bravery, that the enemy deserted their ships, although they were protected by an incessant fire from the batteries on shore.

On the return of the fleet to England, the *Eagle* was found to have been so much disabled in the action, that it was judged necessary to put her out of commission. This happened on the last day of December, 1692, and immediately afterwards the command of the *Plymouth*, a third rate, of sixty guns, was offered to Captain Leake. As it was intimated to him, that this appointment was merely temporary, and that he might confidently look forward to something more honourable and lucrative, he accepted it. In this vessel he continued till the 19th of July the same year, when he was appointed to the command of the *Ossory*, a second rate, carrying ninety guns. Soon after his appointment, it was found necessary to send this ship round to Chatham for repair, as she was very leaky: she was not ordered on any particular service till early in the spring of 1694, when she joined the fleet under the command of Admiral Russell, which was dispatched to the Mediterranean station. It was apprehended that the French admiral, the Count de Tourville, would have acted offensively in this sea; but as soon as he learnt that the English fleet had made its appearance on the coast of Catalonia, he judged it prudent to retire from before Barcelona, and seek for shelter and protection in the harbour of Toulon: here he was most effectually and triumphantly blocked up by Admiral Russell; the recollection of the victory of La Hogue being still too fresh and poignant, to suffer him to face the English. For nearly two years, the English admiral continued in the Mediterranean, unmolested by the enemy; and consequently, during this period, Captain Leake had no opportunity or means of distinguishing himself.

On the 20th of September, 1697, the peace of Ryswick was concluded; and on the 5th of December the *Ossory*

was put out of commission: it is remarked by the author of his life, that from his first command of the *Firedrake* fire-ship in 1688, till this time, making upwards of nine years, he had not been one day out of commission. Before this event took place, while Captain Leake was with the grand fleet, cruising in soundings, his father died: his friends, on this occasion, were not unmindful of, or inattentive to his interests; for, as by this time it was extremely probable that peace would soon be concluded, when, of course, he would be put out of commission, they obtained a letter from Admiral Russell to Lord Romney, master of the ordnance, in which the admiral, after stating that he could answer for Captain Leake's knowledge in the art of gunnery, and for his courage and fidelity—that he was a very honest and good man, and that he would discharge the duties of the office with diligence and conscientiousness, recommended him to succeed his father as master gunner of England. In consequence of this powerful recommendation—powerful, not only on account of the character and influence of the person from whom it proceeded, but also on account of the high terms in which it was expressed, the post of master gunner was offered to Captain Leake; but he declined accepting it. His friends were a good deal surprised at this, as during his father's life-time he seemed desirous of succeeding him, had continued to hold the office of his first mate, and had turned his thoughts to that line of study which the situation more peculiarly required: but all this was merely out of complaisance to his father, who was extremely anxious that the office of master gunner of England should not go out of the family. Captain Leake, in reality, was too fond of a seafaring life, and he had already acquired too much well-merited fame in that mode of life, to think of quitting it; or, if he did quit it, he had resolved that it should be only for a commissioner's place in the navy. He did, indeed, intimate his wish to obtain

this situation to his steady and zealous friends, and particularly to Admiral Churchill; but this last gentleman urged him not to quit the sea on any account, and this advice falling in with Captain Leake's habits, and the tone and tenor of his feelings, he determined to continue a seafaring life.

As this determination was taken in consequence of the advice of Admiral Churchill, he considered himself bound to procure Captain Leake a good appointment as soon as possible: accordingly, on the 5th of May, 1699, the *Kent*, a third rate of seventy guns, being put into commission, Captain Leake was appointed to the command of her; he did not, however, long enjoy this appointment, for, on the 22d of February, 1700, the *Kent* was discharged, and he remained out of employment for nearly a year. On the 28th of February, 1701, he was appointed to the command of the *Berwick*, a third rate of seventy guns; and he continued in this vessel as long as there was no prospect of war: but as soon as hostilities seemed unavoidable, he was removed into the *Britannia*, which was considered the finest first rate, at that time, in the navy. This happened a very short time before the death of King William; and his appointment to this ship was highly honourable to his professional character, for his majesty had just made the Earl of Pembroke lord high admiral of England; but as he was entirely ignorant of maritime affairs, it was necessary to give him the assistance of the best nautical abilities and experience: three captains were therefore selected, to act in the ship on board of which he had hoisted his flag; and Captain Leake was the first of these three. No captain before had ever reached so high a station; and, indeed, it was the highest he could hold as captain. It was, however, merely a situation of honour, for King William dying almost immediately after he had appointed the Earl of Pembroke lord high admiral, that nobleman never went to sea; and

on the accession of Queen Anne, he was removed, in order to make room for Prince George of Denmark. Upon Captain Leake's commission being thus annulled, he was put into the *Association*, a second rate, till a vessel more worthy of his merit and services should be ready for him. On the declaration of the war against France, he was removed from the *Association* to the *Exeter*, a sixty gun ship, and received a commission from Prince George, as commodore of a squadron ordered to cruise on the Newfoundland station. This removal from a second to a fourth-rate vessel, was in consequence of the former being too large for the service on which Commodore Leake was to be employed. His appointment to this service at that time was one of considerable importance, which he owed to his steady friend, Admiral Churchill, who was one of the council to Prince George, in his capacity as lord high admiral. Commodore Leake arrived off Newfoundland in the month of August, and lost no time in executing his orders: so diligent and expeditious was he, that before he had been long on this station, he did very considerable damage to the French, both by sea and land; and at the conclusion of his summer's cruise, he had taken nineteen of their vessels, of the burden of three thousand two hundred and thirty-five tons, and mounting two hundred and nine guns; and had burnt twenty-two, with their cargoes; and destroyed all the principal French settlements in Newfoundland and the neighbouring islands. Admiral Churchill, in recommending Captain Leake to this station, had in contemplation, not only the advantage of the nation, but also the pecuniary benefit of his friend; and in neither of these objects was he disappointed, for his cruise off Newfoundland gave the commodore an opportunity of putting a considerable sum of money into his pocket; and the destruction he caused the enemy, obtained for him the favour of the nation.

Soon after his return to England, he was raised to the

rank of rear-admiral of the blue; but he declined the honour of knighthood, which was offered to him at the same time. On the 1st of March, 1703, he was honoured with farther promotions, being appointed vice-admiral of the blue: and he was commander in chief at Spithead, till he accompanied Sir Cloudesley Shovel to the Mediterranean. On his return from this station, he encountered the great storm, as it was emphatically and too appropriately called: his vessel appears to have been saved by his own prudent and judicious seamanship, though she was, at one time, in considerable danger, from the circumstance of the Restoration, a third rate, driving across her hawse.*

* Of this storm, and the escape of the Prince George, Vice-admiral Leake's ship, Mr. Leake, in his life of the admiral, gives the following interesting account:

“ It was one of the long and dark nights of November, between the 26th and 27th, that brought forth this dreadful storm. The violence of it began about one o'clock, the wind blowing from the W. S. W. to the S. S. W. and in a short time spread destruction over the face of the whole kingdom; but as it seems to have engendered in the Downs, so it spent its fury there. That place, which the evening before appeared like a goodly forest, in two hours was reduced to a desert, hardly an object being left to cheer the sight, had the darkness of the night permitted. Vice-admiral Leake, in the Prince George, alone riding fast, in despite of the two contending elements, but with the expectation only of being the last to be swallowed up. About three o'clock, believing the storm to be at the worst, they were encouraged to hope they might ride it out: but just then they discovered the Restoration, a third-rate ship, driving upon them, and presently she came so near, that they were forced to brace their yards, to prevent her driving on board them; however, they hoped she might get clear of them; but whilst they flattered themselves with this expectation, her anchor came up to the hawse of the Prince George, and she stopped, riding fast by them. Now, their fate seemed inevitable; for if no ship but theirs had been able to ride out the storm single, how was it possible their ground tackle should hold two great ships. There was no means left but to cut her away: they endeavoured it, but could not do it. There were now no hopes; they waited their approaching fate, which every minute threatened their destruction. By the prodigious strain, their best bower was soon brought home,

In the beginning of the month of February, in the subsequent year, he was again offered the honour of knight-hood, which he accepted; and on the 19th, he was ordered to convoy some transports, with troops on board to Lisbon. As soon as he performed this service, he joined the fleet under Sir George Rooke, and when, after an unsuccessful cruise in the Mediterranean, it had been resolved to sail for the Tagus, it is said that this resolution was changed, at the express advice of Sir John Leake, who strongly recommended an attempt against Gibraltar. The success of this enterprise did great credit to his judgment, and could not fail to raise his character.

At the battle of Malaga, he had the command of the van, consisting of six sail of the line: with this force he attacked the van of the enemy, consisting of thirteen ships; and notwithstanding the very great superiority, forced them to retire out of the line. With respect to this battle,

“ and their small bower brought ahead; and in this manner they
“ rode for half an hour—the longest half hour that ever they knew,
“ for every minute seemed to be their last. But when all human aid
“ failed, and all expectations were vain, the invisible hand of Provi-
“ dence relieved them; for whether the cable of the Restoration
“ parted, or the anchor slipped, they knew not; but she drove away,
“ and soon after was lost, with every living creature on board; by
“ which means Vice-admiral Leake happily survived the general
“ devastation. This wonderful deliverance, under Providence, was
“ owing to a prudent foresight in the admiral and his captain, Captain
“ Martin, by providing against the worst. The day before, when it
“ blew very hard, and considering the time of the year, the place
“ they were in, and what might happen, they made a snug ship,
“ veering out their long service to two cables and two thirds, and
“ doing every thing that might enable them to ride out a hard storm;
“ by which precaution, they not only saved themselves, but the lives
“ of seven hundred men under their care, with her majesty’s ship:
“ and all this without cutting away a mast, using any extraordinary
“ means, or receiving any damage more than usual in a hard gale of
“ wind; which was a happiness and an honour no other could pre-
“ tend to.”

Mr. Leake, in his account of the life of Sir John, states, that " he dispatched Captain Martin to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, proposing to push the enemy's van till he broke their line, or obliged their centre to draw off; but Sir Cloudesley did not approve of the proposal, whereby the greatest part of our van remained spectators only during the rest of the engagement." On this statement Mr. Charnock, in his life of Captain Martin, offers the following observations, which appear very fair and judicious: " This certainly implies a kind of charge against Sir Cloudesley, which we feel ourselves, in justice to his character, bound to resist. Mr. Leake has either been misinformed, or was not aware of the force of his own assertion. Sir Cloudesley, in the account given by him of the above encounter, very sufficiently accounts for his closing the line, and desisting from pursuing the enemy's beaten van. Sir George Rooke's division, which was rendered the weakest in the fleet, on account of several of the ships which composed it being obliged to quit the line for want of shot, was opposed to the centre of the enemy, which was in much greater force; and the consequence of that great superiority might have been extremely fatal, had not Sir Cloudesley prudently decided on the measures already stated, for the purpose of assisting Sir George Rooke. Certainly, no man properly acquainted with his character, can hesitate a moment in attributing his conduct to that motive only. As to Mr. Leake's proposed manœuvre, and his arguments in support of it, we cannot but totally differ in opinion from him. To have pursued the beaten van, would certainly have left the centre a sacrifice; and the French, had not the advantage been decidedly on their side, would at least have had the glory of calling it a drawn battle; so that Mr. Leake's subsequent charge of incapacity against Shovel is at once illiberal and unjust."

When the grand fleet, after the battle of Malaga, returned to Gibraltar, Sir John Leake was left with a winter guard at Lisbon, for the defence and protection of the newly-acquired place, which there was every reason to suppose the Spaniards would not quietly suffer to remain in our possession. When he took this command, he shifted his flag from the *Prince George* (which it was necessary to send home to be repaired,) to the *Nottingham*, a fourth rate. Before he had thoroughly equipped his squadron at Lisbon, the anticipations respecting the designs of the Spaniards against Gibraltar were verified, Sir John receiving information that that fortress was in danger from them and their allies, the French, who besieged it by sea, while the Spaniards attacked it by land. On this information, he exerted himself with the greatest dispatch and activity, to complete the reequipment of his vessels; and having received a reinforcement of some Dutch and English men-of-war, he sailed from Lisbon on the 25th of October. He was four days on his passage, and as his coming was not expected by the enemy, he was so fortunate as to surprise, in Gibraltar bay, their light squadron, most of which the French immediately ran ashore, and burned: the rest of them had sailed to the westward a few days before Sir John Leake's arrival. His conduct on this occasion deserved great praise, not only on account of the dispatch which he employed at Lisbon, but also because he took great and effectual pains to carry on a regular correspondence with the Prince of Hesse, who commanded in Gibraltar; and thus, by assuring them of succour, kept up the confidence of the garrison: they had, however, almost begun to despair of his arrival, and had it been delayed only two days, it is extremely probable Gibraltar would have been retaken. The enemy, to the number of five hundred, had contrived, by means of rope ladders, to reach that part of the rock which was deemed inaccessible, and which, therefore, was not guarded so

well as it would otherwise have been; these men were to afford facilities to their companions, when a general assault was made; and for this assault three thousand men were to be landed at the new mole: besides these means, it was afterwards discovered that there had been a plot in the garrison to deliver it up; but all the schemes were frustrated by the arrival of Sir John Leake; the five hundred Spaniards had already remained three days on the rock, and despairing of success or escape, and being pressed by hunger, they discovered themselves the day after Sir John's arrival; nearly the whole of them were either killed, made prisoners, or threw themselves headlong over the rock.

His services on this occasion were so highly appreciated by the Prince of Hesse, that he wrote to him, expressing his satisfaction at his appearance so opportunely before the place, "having been the entire reason of saving it
" from the attempt of the enemy, who were to attack us
" that very night of your entrance, in many places at
" once, with a great number of men, which, with our
" small garrison, we had not been able to hold it out
" against such a superior force."

While Sir John Leake was lying in Gibraltar bay, he received information that the enemy having collected a very superior force, intended to attack him; he therefore judged it proper to leave his station, and proceed towards Lisbon, hoping on his passage to meet the reinforcements which he had been promised. These reinforcements consisting of several transports, with troops on board for the garrison, and four men-of-war; unfortunately fell in with the French fleet before they met Sir John, but by judicious management, only one transport was captured; the rest having passed Sir John, got safe into Gibraltar, while he not meeting with them, proceeded to Lisbon. At this place he refitted his squadron, which was now rendered more equal to that of the enemy, by the junction of

five men of war under Sir Thomas Dilkes, who brought out to Sir John a commission as vice-admiral of the white and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean: on this promotion he hoisted his flag on board the *Hampton Court*, of seventy guns. Before his fleet was ready for sea, he received intelligence, that Gibraltar was again in a perilous situation; he immediately sent away two of his squadron with three hundred soldiers and a considerable quantity of powder and stores: on the 6th of March, the rest of the fleet sailed, consisting of thirty-five sail of the line, twenty-three of which were English, and the others Dutch and Portuguese. The greater part of the French fleet, on the intelligence of his approach, left the bay of Gibraltar; but five of them remained, under the command of the Baron Ponti; as soon as he perceived the English fleet, he attempted to escape out of the bay, but without success, as all his vessels were either taken or destroyed, and he himself died soon afterwards of the wounds he received in the battle. The relief of the fortress was the result of this flight and defeat of the enemy, and the Prince of Hesse again addressed Sir John Leake, and congratulated him on his great and good success on his second appearing off Gibraltar, " 'tis only to you," he adds, " the public owes, and will owe so many great and happy consequences of it; and I, in particular, cannot express my hearty thanks and obligations I lie under." His highness also presented him with a gold cup on this occasion. The destruction of the vessels under Admiral Ponti, seems to have caused great consternation and alarm among the enemy, even at a great distance from the scene of action, and dreading that Sir John Leake would scour the Mediterranean, all the ships of war that were in the road of Toulon, were hauled up into the harbour, and for some days no vessel durst put to sea.

The merit of Sir John Leake, on both these occasions of relieving Gibraltar, has been greatly extolled, and by some has been thought superior to that of having first conquered the fortress; in support of this opinion, it is alleged that it was an easy matter for the grand confederate fleet to surprise a place taken quite unawares, and defended by a very small and inadequate garrison; but that to preserve it against the united efforts of France and Spain, put forthwith in all their might, both by land and sea, and to effect this preservation against such a powerful force by means of a small squadron, was an act of the most consummate skill and bravery. It ought, however, to be recollected that the ships employed by Sir John Leake on both these occasions, particularly on the last, composed a very numerous fleet, well equipped, and undoubtedly much superior to the French. His merit, notwithstanding this circumstance, was undoubtedly very great, and in one respect, unfortunately, not very common either at that time or subsequently; for the greatest cordiality subsisted between him and the Prince of Hesse. Neither of them were actuated by any other motives but an anxious and sincere desire to promote the public good, and they were emulous of each other, in no other respect, than in the earnestness of this desire, and in their efforts to accomplish their united purpose.

As some part of the merit of this relief of Gibraltar has been attributed to the Earl of Peterborough, and Sir George Byng, the author of Sir John Leake's life offers some remarks on this statement; the former certainly had none of the merit, and with respect to Sir George Byng, his squadron with the Irish convoy, did not arrive till after Sir John Leake had concerted his measures for the relief of the place, and these measures he carried into execution, without any alteration in his plan.

After the relief of Gibraltar, Sir John again returned to Lisbon, and in the month of June, Sir Cloudesley

Shovel arrived there with a fleet from England; of this fleet, the Prince George, Admiral Leake's old ship, was one, and he immediately hoisted his flag on board of her. On the 22d of June, 1705, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and he sailed for the Mediterranean, in order to assist in the reduction of Barcelona; when this was accomplished, Sir Cloudesley returned to England, and Sir John was again left commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. His first scheme was to attack the Spanish galleons in the bay of Cadiz, which were outward-bound, and contained cargoes of considerable value; but it unfortunately happened, that a large proportion of these cargoes belonged to Sir John's allies, the Dutch and Portuguese, and they consequently were very averse to the projected attack, and used every endeavour to render it abortive. As it was necessary before he commenced the attack, to refit his fleet, he had proceeded to Lisbon for this purpose: the Portuguese government affected to be very sincere and earnest in their wish to facilitate the enterprise, and under the plausible pretext, that no intelligence should be conveyed to Cadiz, they laid an embargo on all vessels in the Tagus; but when Sir John Leake, his squadron being ready for sea, attempted to pass St. Julian's castle, several shots were fired at him, and the very embargo which should have facilitated his enterprise, delayed his sailing: nor was this the only instance of the treachery of the Portuguese, for they actually conveyed intelligence to Cadiz of Sir John's intended attack upon the galleons, so that before he arrived there, (twenty-four hours having been consumed in getting the embargo taken off,) they had sailed with such a favourable wind, that there was no chance of overtaking them. Thus foiled in his attempt on the galleons, he proceeded to Gibraltar bay, where he arrived on the 29th of March; he had not been long here, before he received a letter from Charles, King of Spain, informing him that his rival, King Philip, had closely besieged

him in Barcelona, and earnestly entreating him to come with the utmost expedition to his relief. This summons would have been immediately obeyed by Sir John, but in consequence of contrary winds he was not able to set sail till the 13th of April: on this day, having been strengthened by the arrival of Sir George Byng's fleet from England, he proceeded to the relief of Barcelona. Before, however, he arrived off that city, the French fleet had intelligence of his approach, and effected their escape. A very few days after he did arrive, the siege was raised; the Duke of Anjou, who commanded the army employed on the occasion, abandoning his cannon, equipage, stores, &c. King Charles was so impressed with the importance and advantage of this enterprize, and considered the danger out of which he had been extricated as so imminent, that he annually commemorated the raising of the siege by a public thanksgiving, as long as he lived. Queen Anne, also, ordered a medal to be struck on this occasion; on the reverse of which, the sun was represented in eclipse over the city and harbour of Barcelona, in allusion to the circumstance of an eclipse of the sun having actually happened on the day that the siege was raised, which, being a total one, is said to have struck no small consternation into the enemy. The sun in eclipse on the medal, might also allude to the device which the French monarch had assumed, and signify that the sun of his glory, on this occasion, had suffered an eclipse.

From Barcelona Sir John proceeded against Carthage, which he reduced in a very short time, without any difficulty. Alicant was the next place in the interest of Philip, to which he turned his attention; and having arrived off that city, the boats were manned, and it was taken by storm on the 28th of July; the castle, however, did not surrender till the end of the following month. He concluded his most successful campaign this year, with the reduction of the islands of Majorca and Ivica. On his

return home, his fleet met with a very severe storm in the bay of Biscay, which, however, they weathered without any very material loss. His services in the Mediterranean were deemed of so much importance, that he received both from the nation at large and from his sovereign, every mark of attention and gratitude. By Prince George of Denmark he was presented with a diamond ring, valued at four hundred pounds; and the queen bestowed on him a gratuity of one thousand pounds. In the year 1707, on the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, he was raised to the rank of admiral of the white, and appointed commander-in-chief of her majesty's fleet. Very soon after this, it was judged necessary to send a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, and Sir John was selected to command it; not so much on account of his high rank in the navy, as on account of his experience and former success in that sea: and it so happened, that Barcelona again needed his assistance. This city was, at this time, so closely blockaded by the enemy, as to be in great danger of being compelled to surrender through famine. Fortunately, Sir John, in his passage to Barcelona, fell in with a large fleet of victuallers, seventy-five of which he captured and carried along with him; by the presence of his powerful fleet, and by this seasonable supply of provisions, the city as well as the confederate army were relieved from famine. In 1708 he sailed for Italy, for the purpose of convoying the new queen of Spain to her consort, King Charles; for which service he received from her majesty a diamond ring worth three hundred pounds. He was next employed in reducing the island of Sardinia under the dominion of Charles; and this being accomplished, he sailed, along with Lord Stanhope, who commanded the land forces, against Minorca, which soon surrendered.

While Sir John was thus successful in the Mediterranean, in supporting the honour of the British flag and advancing the cause of the allies, he was appointed one

of the council to the lord-high-admiral, and elected member of parliament, both for Harwich and Rochester; he took his seat for the latter of these places. On the 22d of October he arrived in England, and Prince George of Denmark dying on the 28th, he enjoyed only for a very short time the honour of being one of his council. The Earl of Pembroke, who, as we have already stated, was appointed lord-high-admiral just before King William's death, but who was removed on the occasion of Queen Anne, was again raised to that situation; and he immediately appointed Sir John Leake admiral of the fleet. On the 24th of May, 1709, a patent was passed, constituting him rear-admiral of Great Britain. No person had enjoyed this high office since the death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and, as Campbell remarks, the manner in which it was bestowed by the queen on Sir John, did both her and him great honour: neither his friends, nor her ministers interposed with her, applied for it, or even named him: the thought was entirely her own; and when she bestowed the office on him, she accompanied it with this just and elegant compliment, "that she was put in mind of it by the voice of the people."

It being judged proper to put the office of lord-high-admiral into commission, in the month of November he was appointed one of the lords of the Admiralty, resigning his situation as commander-in-chief. On the change of ministry in 1710, the Earl of Orford lost his place as first lord of the Admiralty, and Sir John was appointed to succeed him; but having witnessed the arduous duties of this high post, and the odium which was attached to the person who held it, if any thing unfortunate happened; and adverting also, to the political divisions and rancour which then prevailed, in no common degree, he declined accepting the appointment, "contenting himself with performing the office of chairman as a mere private member only;" since, in this station, he was no more account-

able than any of the rest of the members for the proceedings of the board.

In the month of January of the following year, he was made admiral of the fleet for the third time; having, a few months before, been chosen again to represent the city of Rochester in parliament. In 1712 he was sent along with General Hill to take possession of Dunkirk, according to the terms of the treaty of peace; and it is remarked, "that as he had the good fortune to begin the war with the first instance of success, the expedition to Newfoundland, so he closed it with this last remarkable issue of a long course of success." As soon as the object of the expedition to Dunkirk was accomplished, Sir John struck his flag: he was, however, before the expiration of the year, again put in commission as admiral of the fleet; and nearly about the same time, he was re-chosen representative for Rochester.

On the accession of George I. a very general change of public men took place; not only were those removed, whose principles and former conduct were inimical to the interests of the house of Hanover, or at variance with those doctrines, on which they ascended the throne; but even most of those, who, from mere personal attachment and gratitude were devoted to Queen Anne. It does not appear, whether Sir John Leake's political principles and conduct had given offence to the ministers of the new sovereign; or whether he had only incurred their suspicion and hatred in consequence of his open and full avowal of his respect for the memory of the queen. Certain it is, from whatever cause, on her majesty's decease, he was deprived of his situation at the Admiralty board, superseded as admiral of the fleet, by Admiral Aylmer, and stripped of all his other appointments. Such a complete dismissal of a man, who, from his character and the nature of his services, could not be a very violent partizan, certainly indicated something like injustice or

personal rancour, on the part of ministers. It ought, however, to be stated in vindication, or at least, in palliation of their conduct on this occasion, that even allowing that Sir John had given no just ground for offence or suspicion, by his political principles or behaviour, yet the bluntness of his temper and manners were such as were not likely to conciliate his opponents; and as he had been patronized by the tory ministers of Queen Anne, the new ministry would naturally expect he should make advances towards them, as a proof of his wish to be continued in the offices that he held. Sir John acted quite in a different and opposite manner; he was open and loud in his praise of his deceased sovereign, and rather too directly and pointedly implied a censure, by such praise, on the principles and character of her successor. This of itself, was sufficient to render him obnoxious: but, besides the language, which he held on all occasions, respecting Queen Anne and King George, after the accession of the latter, he never went to court. As ministers were resolved not to employ, they eagerly sought an excuse for dismissing him, in his language and conduct; and more particularly, they urged, that his non-appearance at court, was a sufficient proof, that he had no desire to be employed under the new sovereign. This, the writer of his life maintains, was a groundless aspersion, but it served the purpose of ministers; and taking it for granted, that from political causes, he was averse to active employment, they settled on him a pension of six hundred pounds per annum. His services had been so numerous and important, and he had spent such a large portion of his life in his professional career, that they could not dismiss him without a pension; but he, very justly, complained that the amount of the pension was not, by any means, adequate to his services; and that others, who had not served so long, done so much, nor reached so high a rank in the navy, were, when they ceased to be actively employed, rewarded with

an equal pension. He had still stronger reasons for complaint, for by usage so constant and regular that it had never been departed from, except in his case, the pensions had always been made equivalent, at least, to the half pay; and by this usage, as admiral of the fleet, he was entitled to fifty shillings a day. Sir John appears to have been exceedingly galled and provoked at the smallness of his pension; and Admiral Aylmer, his junior, who succeeded him as admiral, having been put upon the regular half pay, and paid his arrears from 1710, though Sir John was actually admiral at that time, and Admiral Aylmer, in fact, only commanded once, as admiral, on the home station, it was with the utmost difficulty that Sir John's friends could prevail upon him to accept the pension.

But though he protested against this act of injustice and partiality, as he conceived it to be, he did not permit his sense of personal injury to urge him on to any public remonstrance, nor did he enter into regular and party spirited opposition to the measures of government, but resolved to devote the remainder of his days to peaceful and quiet retirement. With this view he built a small country seat in the vicinity of Greenwich, at which, and at a country house which he possessed at Beddington, in the county of Surrey, he spent most of his time. While he was yet a young man, he had married a daughter of Captain Richard Hill, of Yarmouth; by whom he had only one child, a son, whose gross and constant misconduct embittered the last years of his existence. Charnock complains that the author of Sir John's life, "has taken rather uncommon pains to blacken the character of the son; whether influenced by a rigid regard to truth, or in gratitude to the memory of Sir John, for having left the reversion of his whole estate to Captain Martin Leake, after the death of that son, we cannot determine." This is, indeed, a most singular charge:

if the representation given by the author of Sir John's life, proceeded from a rigid regard to truth, how can he justly be accused of having taken uncommon pains to blacken the character of the son? Assuredly, on this supposition, he only has discharged most faithfully the duty of an impartial biographer; and that he did not state any thing against the son, but what his character and conduct warranted, and called upon him, to state, is abundantly evident from the whole life of that son, and from the melancholy effects which his vicious behaviour produced on the happiness of his father.

It is possible, however, that a prejudice against this son might have unconsciously arisen in the breast of Sir John, from the following circumstance:—When he was born, his grandfather, Richard Leake, influenced by the prevailing superstition of the times, cast his nativity, and foretold that he would be very vicious, very fortunate, and very unhappy. Now this prediction certainly would not have a tendency to make Sir John regard his son with a favourable eye, or to anticipate much honour or satisfaction from his conduct; and it may be, if the son himself was informed of the prediction, that the knowledge of it contributed not a little to form his character and influence his behaviour. He certainly was very thoughtless and dissipated: the love of pleasure was so strong and constant in him, that it broke down every restraint, which the honour of his profession, and even his own interest raised against improper or vicious actions. Impetuous, head-long and obstinate, he ran a short and disgraceful career. He entered early into the navy, and through the interest of his father, he was, on the 24th of August, 1705, though then only twenty-four years old, appointed to the command of the *Tartar* frigate. In this vessel he was principally employed in convoying merchant vessels to and from *Hamburgh* and the *Baltic*. On his return from one of these voyages, being in company with Captain

Hicks of the *Adventure*, they captured a small frigate, mounting twenty-four guns. The author of the life of Sir John remarks, that in a very few years, he got more money by prizes, than his father did in the whole course of his life; and this circumstance, joined to his vicious and unhappy life, almost persuades this author of the truth of astrological prognostics; at least, in this particular instance. Sir John was still farther mortified and afflicted by the disgraceful marriage of his son. He died on the 24th of February, 1719-20.

But to return from this digression to Sir John himself; except the misconduct of his son, no circumstance disturbed his tranquillity, after he retired to a private life; and his health continued good till the month of August, 1719. At this period he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, but it went off, apparently without any bad consequences, and without any indication of such a habit of body, as would render its recurrence probable. The death of his son, however, though he could not feel for him all the affection of a father, and though a lingering incurable disorder had prepared him for the event, shook his constitution very much: he manifested much more affliction than was expected; and his mind being thus weakened as well as his body, symptoms appeared, which, though at first not observed, or neglected, soon afterwards foretold an approaching dissolution. He had been for some time afflicted with a troublesome defluxion in his eyes, and for this, an issue had been made between his shoulders: this issue dried up, soon after the loss of his son. In the beginning of August, the place where it had been, became painful, and in a very few days, a mortification appeared. In order to save his life, if possible, his medical attendants proposed an operation; at first he was averse to it, being convinced that he should not long survive it, and declaring that he would rather die by the disease than the operation. But his friends being urgent, he submitted

to it, with the utmost fortitude and patience: it proved, however, ineffectual, and he died on the 1st of August, 1720, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was buried in the family vault, in the parish church at Stepney. By his will, which was made before the death of his son, he devised his estates to trustees for his use, during his life; and in case he died without issue, they were to go to Captain Martin, who had married his wife's sister, and between whom and himself, as well as between their respective fathers, (as we shall have occasion to notice more particularly hereafter) the greatest intimacy had subsisted.

The following is an abstract of the character given of him, by Mr. Stephen Martin Leake, clarencieux king of arms, in his life of him, already frequently referred to; which, making allowance for a little partiality in some points, the detail of his actions that has been given, will prove to be just and applicable.

As to his person, he was of a middle stature, well set, and strong; a little inclining to corpulency, but not incommodiously so; his complexion was florid, his countenance open, his eyes sharp and piercing, and his address both graceful and manly. He had a good constitution, hardly knowing what it was to be sick. Though he drank his bottle freely, yet he was never disguised, nor impaired his health by it. His disposition was naturally cheerful and good humoured, free and open, unless before strangers a little reserved at first, but it soon disappeared. Though he had no classical learning, yet, having very good natural parts, few men expressed themselves more properly, either in writing or speaking: his passions, though strong, yet never betrayed him into any indecency; his heat was soon pacified, and ready to forgive, no man being more humane. In his dress he was neat and plain, never very fine, being as free from vanity as from pride, which knew him not. He was certainly one of the best seamen this

island has produced, being a perfect master both in theory and practice; he likewise understood ship building, gunnery, fortification, and the discipline of the land service, wanting only practice to have made him a good land officer and engineer. His courage was of the keener sort, without being rash: he would endure the fatigue of any difficulties, and had great presence of mind in any danger; being of opinion, that the bravest man would always carry it. In councils of war, where it was too often insinuated that the undertaking was impracticable, if we had not a great superiority, or there was nothing but honour to be gained from it, Sir John usually replied, let us make it practicable: and before he proposed any enterprize, was prepared to answer all objections, and even to carry it immediately into execution. This prudent forecast, on which he laid all his undertakings, drew a great deference to his opinion, and made him fortunate in all his designs, which being executed with great vigour, were attended with that glorious success that justly gained him the characteristic epithets of the brave and fortunate admiral. As he never was proud of his own fortune, so he never envied that of others, nor attempted to supplant them: he set himself wholly to perform the business he was engaged in, and in every station, acquitted himself with fidelity, and the greatest modesty; being rather too backward to serve his own friends. He hated every thing that was mean or mercenary; and, in his whole life, never pursued an enterprize with any bye end to himself. He disregarded both riches and grandeur; he shunned the honour of knighthood for some time, and refused the post of first commissioner of the admiralty; he refused to be a peer.

As to his political principles, he was for the establishment both in church and state. No man was more sensible of the benefits to this kingdom by the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, at the same time that

he retained a dutiful and most grateful regard to the memory of Queen Anne, as the best of women, the best of queens, and the best of mistresses. In private life no man was a better husband, a better father, or a more sincere friend; never happier than when in his family; and, among his particular acquaintance, he had a generosity which took pleasure in serving others. Few men were freer from vices of all kinds; even that of swearing, so generally practised among sea commanders of his time, he was rarely guilty of: and, to conclude, he was not only morally, but christianly virtuous. He had a just sense of religion, causing divine worship to be duly observed, and countenanced it by his own example. He frequently communicated, and, continues his historian, I have reason to believe he used private prayers, having found such among his papers, in his own hand-writing, adapted to the different circumstances of his life.

To sum up all, he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant man, and one of the greatest admirals of his time, as his actions demonstrate; and one thing can be said of him, which can be said of no other admiral, that he never betrayed one mistake, or had his conduct once censured.

It has already been mentioned incidentally and generally, that Sir John Leake left his fortune, in the event of the death of his son without issue, to Captain Martin; and that he was induced to make this disposition of his property, not only on account of the relationship which subsisted between them, but also on account of the long intimacy that had existed between the families of Martin and Leake. As this Captain Martin, who afterwards, in conformity to Sir John's will, assumed the name of Leake in addition to his own, was a naval character of no mean reputation, we shall subjoin the memoirs of his life to those of Richard Leake and Sir John Leake: but previously to entering upon them, we shall state the cir-

cumstances which produced the intimacy between the families of Leake and Martin.

In our account of the life of Richard Leake, master gunner of England, we have stated, that when, in consequence of the destruction of the royal cause, he was compelled to leave his native country, he took refuge in Holland, and entered into the Dutch artillery. A great many of the partizans of Charles I. and II. had taken refuge there; principally those whose aversion to the Catholic religion prevented from going to France. Among these was Captain Stephen Martin, the grandfather of the gentleman to whom Sir John Leake bequeathed his property: he was descended from the family of the Martins in Devonshire, and had distinguished himself for his loyalty, during the civil wars, as captain of a company. After the execution of Charles I. he still adhered to the fortune and side of his son; and upon the ruin of his cause, he fled into Holland. Here, Captain Richard Leake and he became acquainted; the similarity of their fate, and probably some resemblance in their disposition and character, ripened this acquaintance into a sincere, warm, and lasting friendship. As we have already stated in our life of Captain Richard Leake, he returned to England a short time before the restoration; and though his return at this period was rather hazardous, yet such was the intimacy subsisting between him and Captain Martin, that the latter resolved to share his fate, and accordingly returned along with him. Soon after the restoration, Captain Martin died, leaving a son, Thomas Martin: to this son, Captain Richard Leake transferred all the friendly feelings and regard which he had experienced for the father; and, added to these, that advice and protection which the inexperienced age of the son required. Captain Richard Leake particularly took great pains in his education, instructing him himself in his favourite sciences, gunnery, engineering, and fortification.

As soon as this part of his friendly duty had been fully discharged, he exerted his interest to get him such a situation as, by bringing his qualifications into play and notice, might ensure his advancement and fortune : accordingly, he obtained for him, in the service of the artillery, the captaincy of a company of matrosses.

He appears to have been first sent abroad, about the year 1682, to Tangiers, in Africa, which was then in our possession : at this time, Tangiers was closely besieged by the Moors ; and in its defence Mr. Martin exerted himself with such distinguished skill and bravery, as to contribute in no small degree to its safety, and to fix upon himself the attention, and obtain the thanks, of his superior officers. It was soon afterwards determined to demolish Tangiers ; and to assist in this demolition, Captain Richard Leake was sent out from England. This service being accomplished, the two friends returned to their native country together in 1683.

No particulars of his actions or movements are known from this period till the Revolution, when he was sent, along with the corps in which he served, to Ireland, where he behaved in such a manner, as not only to preserve, but to increase the reputation which he had acquired. In this country he continued till the year 1690, when having been severely wounded at the siege of Cork, which he was employed to carry on, he was obliged to retire from the service, and died of his wounds about two years afterwards.

He left a son, Stephen Martin, between whom and Sir John Leake the family intimacy and friendship grew still more close and firm. This gentleman had been recommended by both the fathers to Sir John's care ; and he complied with their request in the most affectionate manner ; for he not only received him as a friend, and superintended his education, but actually took him as his own

pupil, as soon as his age and information qualified him for active service. In consequence of the predilection for the sea service, which his intimacy with Sir John produced, he entered very early into this line of life: he was a midshipman at the battle of Bantry bay, and in consequence of the gallant manner in which he conducted himself on this occasion, and of the circumstance that he was severely wounded in the thigh by a cannon ball, Sir Cloudesley Shovel took great notice of him, and offered to place him under his immediate protection; but this offer he was induced to decline, from a wish to return to his friend Captain Leake's ship, as soon as he was again fit for active service. Accordingly, as soon as he was recovered, he went on board the Dartmouth. There can be no doubt, that on this occasion, his regard for his friend, and his extreme desire not to be separated from him, considerably retarded his promotion; for had he accepted the offer of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, he could scarcely have failed of rising rapidly in the service. But so much were Captain Leake and Mr. Martin attached to each other, that they were not happy or content separate; and the latter preferred the company of his friend, though that friend might have few opportunities of serving him, to a life spent away from him, however fortunate in other respects.

When Captain Leake removed from the Dartmouth to the Eagle, Mr. Martin accompanied him: he was, of course, in the famous action of La Hogue, in which he was twice wounded; and in this action, also, he had a still more narrow escape; for while he was in conversation with Captain Leake, and receiving orders from him, a cannon shot passed between them. We have already mentioned, that after the battle, the Eagle was sent to destroy some of the enemy's vessels, which had taken shelter under Cape La Hogue, and that it was found

necessary to send the boats on this service. Mr. Martin, though still suffering very severely from the wounds which he had received, took the command of the boats, and distinguished himself by his enterprise and bravery.

A little before this time, the two friends became more closely united, by the marriage of Mr. Martin to Elizabeth, the sister of Christian, the wife of Captain Leake. It does not appear that Mr. Martin all this time had any regular commission; and the first official account to be met with, of his holding a command, is in the month of March, 1702, when, being appointed captain, the command of the Mortar bomb was given to him. This necessarily separated him from his friend, Captain Leake, and, with the exception of a short period in the year 1697, when they served on board different ships, this was the principal instance in which they were separated during their professional lives. The Mortar bomb, soon after Captain Martin obtained the command of her, was ordered to join Sir George Rooke, in his expedition against Cadiz and Vigo: here he had another opportunity of again signaling himself, and, as a reward, he was immediately promoted to the command of the *Lowestoffe* frigate, and stationed in soundings. While cruising here, his friend Sir John was appointed rear-admiral of the blue, and having thus an opportunity of serving his friend, and at the same time regaining his society, he did not neglect it; for in the beginning of January, 1702-3, by the interest and recommendation of Sir John, he was removed from the *Lowestoffe*, and appointed his captain.

On the promotion of his friend to be vice-admiral of the blue, and the removal of his flag from the *Royal William* to the *St. George*, Captain Martin accompanied him; as he did also, afterwards, into the *Somerset* and *Prince George*. As the events of his life, during the period of his serving on board these ships, have necessarily been anticipated in the account which we have already given of

Sir John Leake, it is unnecessary to state them here. In the battle of Malaga, Captain Martin received a slight wound from a splinter, which, however, did not prevent him in the smallest degree, or for the shortest period, from performing his duty. When Sir John Leake was obliged to shift his flag from the Prince George to the Nottingham, in consequence of his being appointed to command a small squadron for the protection of Gibraltar, and the Prince requiring repair, Captain Martin was sent to England in this vessel. He returned to the Mediterranean in the following spring, along with the fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and was present at the capture of Barcelona. As soon as this city had surrendered, the fleet returned to Lisbon, and in their passage encountered very great hardships. There were in it several Dutch vessels, which sailed very badly, and retarded the rest of the fleet so very much, that they were upwards of thirteen weeks in their passage: it unfortunately happened that they were unprepared for so long a voyage; a scarcity of provisions took place, the scurvy broke out among the crew, and the mortality became so great, that upwards of three hundred men were thrown overboard. When they arrived in the Tagus, Captain Martin found that he should be without active employment during the winter: this time he employed in careening and refitting his ship, and in the month of April he sailed for the Mediterranean, and rejoined Sir John Leake.

After the relief of Barcelona and the conquests of Carthegena, Alicant, Majorca, and the adjoining islands had been effected, Captain Martin returned to England in the Prince George. Soon afterwards his friend was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and removed his flag on board the Albermarle: by this appointment, Sir John had the privilege of having two captains under him, and he made Sir Thomas Hardy his first, or captain of the fleet; and Captain Martin his second, or his own

captain. As the former had but a very short time before been tried by a court martial, of which, both Sir John Leake and Captain Martin were members, it seems rather surprising that he should have been appointed to such a high station as captain of the fleet, and especially that Sir John should have given him that appointment, in preference to his friend Captain Martin. Sir Thomas Hardy had indeed been acquitted in the most unqualified and honourable manner; but still it appears strange, that by his acquittal he should have obtained higher promotion than Captain Martin, which conduct had never been called in question; and as we have already remarked, this is still more unaccountable, when we reflect on the intimacy between Sir John Leake and Captain Martin. The author of Sir John's life, endeavours to prove, that the appointment of Sir Thomas Hardy was not the result of Sir John's free and uninfluenced choice: but in reply to his remarks on this head, it has been very fairly urged, that if Sir John had not been satisfied both of the propriety of his conduct on the occasion for which he was brought to a court martial, as well as of his ability to execute the duties of captain of the fleet, he would certainly "in that fair, manly, and "open style which ever marked his behaviour," have remonstrated against the injury of obtruding upon him, for so high a station, so intimately connected with his own, a person of whom he entertained an ill opinion, and who of course, could not be entitled to his confidence.

The author of the life of Sir John Leake, further contends, that Captain Martin ought, in justice to his character and his services, to have been appointed to the office of captain of the fleet, in preference to Sir Thomas Hardy: but this opinion is certainly ill founded; in examining the soundness of it, we are, of course, entirely to set aside all reference to the supposed ineligibility of Sir Thomas Hardy, on account of the circumstance of his having been tried by a court martial, and to look solely to the

merits of the two men, and the usages and rules of the naval service. In selecting an officer to be captain of the fleet, it was always deemed the most regular way, to decide according to the date of the commissions of those who in other respects had equal claims, and who were supposed to be duly qualified. Now Captain Martin did not attain the rank of captain, till the month of March, 1702, whereas Sir Thomas Hardy attained that rank on the 6th of January, 1693, upwards of nine years before. From this statement, the superior claim of the former gentleman to the situation of captain of the fleet, is abundantly evident, and it, at the same time accounts for, and justifies Sir John Leake's having appointed his friend, Captain Martin to an inferior situation.

It has been already mentioned, that the new Queen of Spain embarked on board Sir John Leake's ship, on her voyage from Italy to Barcelona, and that, on this occasion she made Sir John a present of a valuable diamond ring; she was so satisfied with the attention of Captain Martin, that she also made him a similar present. On the return of Sir John to England, where he was appointed commander-in-chief in the channel, he hoisted his flag, first on board the Royal Sovereign, and afterwards on board the Russel, into both of which ships he was accompanied by his friend, as his captain. In the course of the year 1710, the command of the channel fleet was given to Admiral Aylmer, and he bringing with him his own captain, Captain Martin served merely as a private officer of that rank; this, however, was not of long duration, for in the month of January, 1711, on Sir John Leake resuming his former station and command, he raised his friend to the rank of captain of the fleet, in the room of Sir Thomas Hardy.

When, in consequence of the change of ministers and measures that took place, on the accession of King George, I. to the throne, Sir John Leake was dismissed from all his employments, his staunch friend was so indignant at

the treatment which he received, that he refused to solicit any command in the navy; and not only did he refuse to solicit it, but he also carried his indignation so far, as to express himself in plain and strong language, both respecting the general measures of government, and their behaviour towards Sir John Leake. From this imprudent and uncalled-for display of his opinions and feelings, he was frequently and with great urgency, advised to desist by Sir John, who remarked to him, that he was injuring himself, without in the least benefiting him; and advised him repeatedly to make application for employment, or at least to put in his claim to be promoted to the rank of a flag officer; but to use the words of the author of Sir John's life, "he had too much gratitude and honour to quit his brother and his friend for any consideration."—As therefore he preferred giving vent to his own feelings and opinions, and sharing the unmerited neglect of his friend, he spent the remainder of his life in retirement; departing this life on the 19th of January, 1735—6, in the seventieth year of his age, at his house, in the Grove, at Mile End, Stepney.

From this brief detail of a life, not particularly distinguished by incident, it might not be easy to draw the character of Captain Martin, were it not for the circumstance of his intimate and lasting connection with Sir John Leake. Taking that circumstance into consideration, and viewing it along with the public conduct of Captain Martin, and more particularly his behaviour, when his friend was dismissed from his employment, we shall, in all probability, not greatly mistake his character, when we picture it as resembling that of Sir John, in its leading features, both of a private and professional nature. He seems to have been a man very susceptible of close and warm attachments; and as most men of such a description are, of a quick temper, and honest heart. In his professional life, he must have been active, zealous, and

enterprising; otherwise, notwithstanding the partiality of friendship and relationship, he never would have been so highly esteemed and so constantly patronized by such a man as Sir John Leake; and, that to his activity, zeal and enterprise, he united no common knowledge of his profession, we may infer from the same circumstance, besides the well established fact, that he had been early and regularly educated for the sea service, and that he enjoyed many excellent opportunities of gaining skill and experience. In short, the man whom Sir John Leake was always anxious to have with him, while in active service, must have been a seaman of no common talents and acquirements in his profession; and the man, whom he selected as his bosom friend, must have been a man of an honest heart and an independent mind.*

* Although Matthew Martin, esq. who died in July, 1749, and who had been a captain of an East India ship, was very slightly and remotely related to the family of the Martins, in Devonshire, (from whom Captain Stephen Martin Leake was descended) yet we willingly take advantage of this circumstance, to narrate an enterprise of his, which was much spoken of and highly applauded at the time, and which, from its nature, amply deserves to be rescued from oblivion, and inserted in a work, the professed object of which, is to celebrate the heroic exploits of British seamen.

In one of his voyages to the East Indies, as captain of a company's ship, mounting thirty-two guns, he had a very valuable cargo on board, besides upwards of one hundred thousand pounds in foreign specie. At this time we were at war with France, and three of the enemies vessels, one of seventy guns, one of sixty, and one of the same force as Captain Martin's ship, were stationed in such a manner, as gave them a great chance of intercepting all the outward-bound East Indiamen.

When Captain Martin first saw them, he suspected that they were enemies vessels, but his officers and crew being of a different opinion, declaring them to be English, and even going so far, as to mention their particular names, he was persuaded to haul up his sails, with an intention of sending his boats on board them to enquire the news: but his suspicious reviving, he again viewed them more attentively with his spy-glass, and at last perceived the largest knock out her lower tier of ports, and haul them to again: upon this, he enquired whether

MEMOIRS OF GEORGE BYNG, LORD VISCOUNT
TORRINGTON, INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF AD-
MIRAL CAMMOCK.

THE family of Byng resided and had property in the county of Kent, in the reign of Henry VII. At that

the vessel, which his officers and crew had represented this to be, had two tier of ports, and on their replying in the negative, he ordered his boat on board again, and made all sail he could. As soon as the enemy perceived this, they hauled down English colours, which they had hitherto borne, and hoisted French colours, at the same time firing upon him: the action continued for two or three glasses, before Captain Martin could get to any distance from them.

They continued the chase all that day, and in the course of the next, they gained so much on him, that they could hear what was said on board one another's ships. Captain Martin now began to despair of effecting his escape; when fortunately for him, he perceived thick weather arising: being a man of a ready and ingenious mind, he resolved to profit by this circumstance, and formed a scheme, which was of great service to him. Without any noise, he ordered all his men to their proper stations, and to trim the sails as quick as possible: when this was done, he went to the man at the helm, and told him, when he ordered him to put the helm hard-a-weather, he must put it hard-a-lee, at the same time promising him a handsome reward if he punctually executed the orders, and threatening to shoot him instantly, if he made the least blunder. Having given these instructions to the man at the helm, he went into the poop, and seeing one of the French ships very near, he fell a stamping, and asked him if he had a mind to be on board her, bidding him at the same time, put the helm hard-a-weather: the man recollecting his previous orders, put the helm hard-a-lee, and brought the ship quite round, almost close under the bowsprit of the French vessel: the enemy surprised at this manœuvre was apprehensive that Captain Martin meant to board them; but as soon as they were convinced that this was not his design, they began to fire, and put their helm hard-a-lee too; but their sails not being properly prepared, as Captain Martin's were, were all taken aback; this of course threw them into great confusion; but the result was not what Captain Martin wished and expected, for he thought, from the appearance of the weather, that by thus being suddenly thrown aback, their mast would have gone overboard. Still, however, by this stratagem, the enemies sailing was so much retarded, that before they were ready to follow him again, he had got above a league ahead.

period it appears, from the visitation of the county, that John Byng, esq. the ancestor of the subject of the pre-

As soon as night came on, he altered his course without their observing it, hauled close in under land, and came to anchor. Here he refreshed his crew, and repaired his rigging and sails, which were a good deal shattered. As, however, he was still uneasy in his mind, he laid himself down on the deck, and spent the night there: when dawn broke, he ordered some of his men to the mast head to keep a good look out; and they had not been long there before they informed him, that they espied a pagoda: he, however, knowing that there could be no pagoda on that coast, suspected it was one of the French ships, and immediately ordered his cable to be cut. Scarcely was this done, when the French sixty gun ship began to near him very fast. During the day, Captain Martin crowded all the sail he could carry; but, perceiving that the enemy rather outsailed him, on the approach of night, he resolved to have recourse to another stratagem. As soon as it was dark, therefore, he ordered a light to be put in the great cabin window, and all the other lights in the ship to be put out. He next ordered a water cask to be sawed in halves, and in one of the halves he fixed a mast, exactly the height of the light in the window, to which he hung a candle and lanthorn; and then putting the light out at the window, he turned it adrift. The enemy soon perceived, and came up with it; and believing it to be the vessel they were in chase of, and that Captain Martin was resolved to fight them, and had slackened sail for that purpose; they prepared to fire upon it: but before they began to fire, it suddenly sunk, and left them in a state of surprise and consternation. Captain Martin, in the mean time, kept on his course, and arrived at the port he was bound to. He had not been long here, before the inhabitants of the place were alarmed with the intelligence, that the two largest of the French ships were lying in a neighbouring port. To free them from their apprehensions on this account, Captain Martin spread a report, that he meant to go and attack them; and in order to give a probability to this report, he actually took on board his vessel one hundred soldiers. The French ships, however, having already had sufficient trial of his activity and courage, and their crews, moreover, being greatly weakened by sickness, did not think it prudent to await his coming; but, before they had repaired their vessels, sailed for Europe. In going round the Cape of Good Hope, one of them sprung a leak; and the other, bearing down to her assistance, it being very dark, ran foul of her, and they both went down, not a soul being saved.

As a reward for Captain Martin's conduct on this occasion, the East India company made him a present of one thousand pounds, and a gold medal, set round with forty-eight rose diamonds, of the value of five hundred pounds.

sent article, lived : he had two sons, Robert and Thomas ; the former was settled at Wrotham, in Kent, and served for the borough of Abingdon, in the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth, 1559 ; he was also sheriff of the county. On his death, in 1595, he was succeeded in his estates by George Byng, his son, who likewise sat in parliament for Rochester and Dover, in the beginning of the reign of James I. On his death, in 1616, George Byng, his son and heir, succeeded him : he does not appear to have taken any part in public life. The last of the family in Kent was John, the son of George, who conveyed away the manor of Wrotham. It is uncertain where he afterwards settled, though, from a circumstance that we shall immediately notice, it is probable he was one of those adventurers who, before the Restoration, purchased forfeited estates in Ireland, or, at least, from some other cause and motive, removed to that kingdom.

George Byng, the subject of the present article, was the son of John Byng, and was born in the year 1663 ; but whether in Kent or not, is not certain. In the edition of Collins's Peerage, published in 1768, and in the subsequent editions, he is said to have been born at Wrotham : no authority is given for this circumstance, though it did not appear in the earlier editions of that work. If the period when his father disposed of the manor of Wrotham could be ascertained, it would of course be an easy matter to determine whether he was born in Kent, or not : but as the time of this event is uncertain, we must have recourse to other means, in order to fix the place of his birth : the circumstance is, indeed, of no great moment ; but those have but little relish for biography, who are utterly indifferent to the minutest event that relates to the man, in whose life and character they are interested. The learned and curious Mr. Read pointed out to Dr. Kippis, for his edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, a

passage in Smith's ancient and present State of the County and City of Cork, in which that author, who is generally esteemed to be very well informed and accurate, and who may be supposed to have had it in his power to ascertain the circumstance, expressly mentions, that Sir George Byng, Viscount Torrington, was born at West Carberry, in the county of Cork.

Of his education, and the early tendency of his mind, we are ignorant. In the year 1678, at the age of fifteen, through the interest and recommendation of the Duke of York, he obtained the king's letter, or warrant, and went to sea as a volunteer. This was a mode of entering the sea service then very common; the person who obtained the King's warrant for this purpose, was entitled to the rank of midshipman: the original and familiar appellation given to this class of officers, was that of king's letter boys. He does not, however, appear to have continued long at sea at this time, for in the year 1681, on the invitation of General Kirk, governor of Tangiers, he served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison. As the governor was very desirous of pushing forward his young friend, as soon as a vacancy happened in his own company, he appointed him ensign, and soon afterwards raised him to the rank of lieutenant. On the demolition and evacuation of Tangiers, which took place in the year 1684, the Earl of Dartmouth, who was then general of the sea and land forces, probably perceiving that young man was better adapted, or more strongly inclined to the sea than the land service, appointed him lieutenant of the Orford. His commission bears date the 23d of February, 1683-4. From interest, however, he was permitted to retain his rank and pay as a land officer for several years after he re-entered the navy. From the Orford, in the subsequent year, he was transferred to the Phoenix; and in this ship, on her passage to the East Indies, he had a

narrow escape from a Zingarian pirate: the action between the vessels was long and desperate, and Byng being ordered to board the enemy, he succeeded in the enterprise; but the greatest part of his companions were either killed or wounded: and the pirate having been dreadfully damaged during the engagement, sunk before Byng could regain his own ship: he was, however, taken out of the sea, but with scarcely any signs of life remaining. His active and daring courage on this occasion seems to have recommended him to the notice of his superiors, and led them to anticipate his future success and glory in the line of life which he had chosen.

On the 24th of May, 1688, having returned from the East Indies, he was appointed lieutenant of the *Mordaunt*; and on the 3d of September, he was transferred to the *Defiance*, as first lieutenant to Captain, afterwards Sir John Ashby: the *Defiance* formed part of the fleet under the command of the Earl of Dartmouth. This fleet had been fitted out expressly for the purpose of opposing the designs of the Prince of Orange. We are now to contemplate Byng in another character: his principles were known to be favourable to the Revolution, and so great was the confidence placed in his integrity, prudence, and adroitness, that he was, in a very particular and flattering manner, entrusted and employed in the intrigues which were at this time carrying on, for the purpose of placing the Prince of Orange on the throne. Not only was he entrusted with the arduous and delicate commission of sounding the inclinations and principles of the officers in the fleet, but also with the more distinguished and honourable employment of carrying the assurances of fidelity and support of those who were friendly to the revolution to the Prince himself. It is said that he was particularly useful and successful in the discharge of the first of these offices, by confirming the wavering, removing the scruples of such as conscientiously adhered

to James, and by other means gaining over many who had been among the most zealous and firmest adherents of that unfortunate monarch. This employment naturally brought him into the notice and favour of the Prince of Orange, to whom he was introduced at Sherborne by Admiral Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford. When he returned from Sherborne to the fleet, he was promoted to the rank of captain, and appointed to the command of the *Warwick*, a fourth rate man-of-war: he was also honoured by the Earl of Dartmouth, by being sent, along with Captain Aylmer and Captain Hastings, to carry a message from that nobleman, and the fleet under his command, of submission and obedience to the Prince of Orange, who was then at Windsor.

Almost immediately after William mounted the throne, he was made captain of the *Dover*, and ordered to cruise in the Irish sea, to intercept any reinforcements that might be sent from France, to James's adherents in Ireland. In May, 1690, he commanded the *Hope*, a third rate, and was present at the battle off Beachy head, where, as one of the seconds of Sir George Rooke, he greatly distinguished himself for his maritime skill and courage. During the years 1691 and 1692, he was captain of the *Royal Oak*; and while in her, he was present at the famous battle off La Hogue; the *Royal Oak* forming one of the blue squadron, under his old commander, Sir John Ashby.

We have already seen that he was indebted to Admiral Russell for his introduction to William III. when Prince of Orange. The friendship, good opinion, and interest of this distinguished character he continued long to enjoy; indeed, there were two circumstances which could not fail most powerfully to recommend Captain Byng to Admiral Russell: in the first place, their political principles were the same; both were sincerely and zealously attached to the revolution, and both, though in different

degrees, had contributed to bring about that most necessary and important event: and in the second place, Admiral Russell was a man of distinguished bravery himself, and could not therefore be insensible to the bravery displayed by Captain Byng on every occasion. The connection between these two, seems to have been so intimate and sincere, that when Admiral Russell retired from the command, towards the end of the year 1692, Captain Byng did the same; and when our naval misfortunes in the year 1693, again brought the admiral into active and honourable service, Captain Byng was immediately appointed first captain of the *Britannia*, the ship on board which the admiral had hoisted his flag. In this distinguished station, he served during the years 1694 and 1695, and was with the fleet in the Mediterranean, when it prevented the designs of the French against Barcelona. In the autumn of 1695, Captain Byng returned to England; and in 1696, his ship formed part of the same fleet, when it was employed in the Channel to oppose an invasion, which, it was apprehended that King James, with the assistance of a French army, meant to make. During this year, he was appointed a commissioner for the registry of seamen; but this scheme was soon abandoned.

From the year 1696, till after the accession of Queen Anne, Captain Byng does not seem to have been employed; but on the breaking out of the war in 1702, he was appointed to the command of the *Nassau*, a third rate. This vessel formed one of the squadron which took and burnt the French fleet at Vigo. On the arrival of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, the *Nassau* was ordered to join his squadron, to assist him in the equipment of the captured ships and galleons, and afterwards to convoy them to England. On the 11th of March, 1703, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the red; and having hoisted his flag on board the *Ranelagh*, of eighty guns, was sent to the Mediterranean, to join the fleet under Sir

Cloudesley Shovel. By this commander he was employed to renew the treaty with the Dey of Algiers. After this business was finished he was ordered home; and during his voyage, encountered the dreadful storm which happened on the 26th of November: he was at this time in the Channel, and was in great danger of being lost. In consequence of the damage which the Ranelagh received in this storm, he shifted his flag about the middle of February, 1704, to the Burlington. As soon, however, as the Ranelagh was repaired and made fit for sea, he again hoisted his flag on board of her, and was appointed to command one of the divisions of the fleet which was sent into the Mediterranean, under Sir George Rooke. From some cause, however, he did not sail along with that commander, but followed with the reinforcement, which was sent out under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the month of May. The conduct and bravery of Admiral Byng were very conspicuous and serviceable at the reduction of Gibraltar, as he was appointed to the command of the squadron that attacked and cannonaded it; and by landing his seamen, obliged the garrison to capitulate on the third day. Soon after the conquest of this important fortress, the battle of Malaga took place; in which, his division, sustaining the principal weight of the action, suffered more than any other part of the fleet, the division of Sir George Rooke excepted. During the engagement, several of the vessels of Admiral Byng's division were compelled to quit the line, in consequence of their having expended all their shot: but, notwithstanding he was thus weakened, he continued to fight that part of the enemy which were opposed to him, with unabated firmness and courage. His behaviour, in this battle, was so meritorious, that immediately on his return to England, which took place on the 22d of October, Queen Anne conferred on him the honour of knighthood, "as a testimony of her high approbation of his behaviour in the late action."

On the 18th of January in the following year, having been raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, he was appointed to command a strong squadron in the Channel, and off the coast of Ireland. The object of this squadron was to oppose the French, who, with two strong squadrons and a considerable number of privateers, were greatly annoying our trade. In this enterprise, more was to be effected by a judicious and prudent distribution of his force, than by regular engagements or hard fighting. Sir George Byng was aware of this, and stationed his cruisers so well, that in the short space of two months, he took twelve of the largest French privateers, the *Thetis*, a man-of-war, of forty-four guns, and seven merchant ships, most of them richly laden from the West Indies. While he was on this station, thus successfully employed, his fame spread far and wide in Great Britain: the number, force, and value of the prizes he captured, were published by authority; and the consequence of his success was soon more decisively and advantageously shewn, by the circumstance, that while he continued in the Channel, the ships of the enemy did not dare venture there.

In 1705, on the election of a new parliament, he was chosen for Plymouth. It is probable, that his success in the Channel, induced the burgesses of this place to fix upon him as one of their representatives. Early in the same year, he hoisted his flag on board the *Royal Anne*, and sailed with a strong squadron, consisting of fourteen sail of the line, with a fleet of merchant ships and transports under his protection, for Lisbon. Having seen his convoy safe into this port, he proceeded to the Mediterranean, in order to raise the siege of Barcelona; in which place, the emperor was blocked up by sea and land, by the Duke of Anjou. Such was the diligence and activity of Sir George Byng, that he very essentially contributed to save that important place, the French raising the siege three days after his squadron joined the fleet which we

had already in the Mediterranean, under Sir John Leake. After the relief of Barcelona, he was employed in the reduction of Carthage and Alicant, and particularly distinguished himself before the latter place; which, though protected by one hundred and sixty guns, facing the sea, and very bravely defended by Brigadier Mahoni, he reduced with only five ships, dismounting many of the guns and driving the enemy from them.

While Sir John Leake was on his return to England, he sent Sir George Byng with a squadron to Lisbon, consisting of eighteen men-of-war and two fire ships, to protect the coast of Portugal, agreeably to a treaty which had been concluded between Great Britain and that country. On this station he remained till the arrival of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with whom, as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, he proceeded to the coast of Italy. He continued in this employment during the following year; and on his return home, he narrowly escaped the fate of his commander: for Sir George Byng's vessel was within a ship's length of the rocks on which Sir Cloudesley Shovel's vessel struck, at the very moment of this dreadful misfortune. He was saved by the presence of mind of himself and his officers, "who," according to the account published in the gazette, "in a minute's time, set the top-sails of the Royal Anne," one of the rocks being close under her main chains.

On the 26th of January, 1707-8, he was made admiral of the blue, and appointed to the command of a squadron, consisting of twenty-three British and three Dutch ships of war. The intention of this squadron was to oppose a French fleet, which was fitting out at Dunkirk, for the purpose of landing an army, with the Pretender at its head, in Scotland. On the 27th of February, with his flag flying on board the *Swallow*, he sailed from the Downs; and having arrived off Gravelines, he went in a small frigate, to reconnoitre the strength and number of the

enemy's ships. He stood so close to the Flemish road, that he had a clear and full view of them, and counted twenty-seven sail, four only of which mounted fifty guns. This squadron was to be joined by another from Dunkirk, consisting of seven ships of the line, and twenty-eight frigates. If, therefore, the junction could be effected, the force would have been very formidable. The whole were to be under the command of the Count de Forbin, who was considered one of the bravest and most experienced officers in the French service. As the French government knew that a large fleet, under Sir John Leake, had sailed from England, they did not imagine that another squadron could be assembled, sufficiently strong, and with sufficient alacrity to oppose their designs. They were, therefore, much surprised, chagrined, and disconcerted, when Sir George Byng appeared off their coasts, with so respectable a force. As soon as he came to an anchor off Gravelines, the French admiral abandoned his design of putting to sea, and dispatched an express to Paris for farther instructions: but the French monarch had set his mind too strongly on the projected expedition, and had raised his expectations of success too high to abandon it: and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Count de Forbin himself, he sent positive orders for the fleet immediately to put to sea. Soon after these orders were received, a violent gale of wind forced Sir George Byng to anchor under Dungeness. The embarkation was immediately completed, and the whole fleet left Dunkirk on the 6th of March. The British admiral did not learn this circumstance till the 9th, when, though he could not ascertain the destination, nor the course of the enemy, yet, as he naturally concluded they had sailed towards Scotland, he resolved to follow them thither. The circumstances and result of this pursuit, have been already given in the historical part of this work: we shall, therefore, confine ourselves, at present, to what more immediately concerns

Sir George Byng. As he had most undoubtedly, by his alacrity and perseverance on this occasion, drawn off the enemy, before they had time to land their forces in Scotland, the lord provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew their gratitude for the important service which he had rendered them, presented him with a burgesses ticket, enclosed in a gold box. This present was accompanied with a letter from the lord provost; in which, he requested the admiral to accept it, as a mark of their high respect for the person to whom they considered themselves indebted for their deliverance from such great fear and danger; for which, his memory should be honored by them.

Notwithstanding Sir George Byng had succeeded in protecting the kingdom from invasion, and had captured one of the enemy's fleet, yet on his return to London he was blamed by many, who insinuated that he might have destroyed the whole French armament, if he had continued in pursuit of them. Sir George, sensible that he had done his duty, paid no attention to these insinuations; and his enemies then turned their accusations against Prince George of Denmark, for having, as they alleged sent vessels to sea in a condition not fit to come up with the French fleet. Here, however, their accusations were still less successful, than when directed against Admiral Byng; for when the affair was brought before the House of Commons, instead of censuring the lord high admiral, they voted him their thanks for having equipped so formidable a force in such a short space of time.

In the summer of 1708, Admiral Byng was employed as commander of a fleet, sent out for the purpose of retaliating the affront which the court of France had offered to us, by their expedition to the coast of Scotland. On the 29th of May, he stood over to the coast of Picardy, both for the purpose of alarming the enemy, and drawing off their attention; for, on the 4th of the follow-

ing month, he landed a body of troops in the bay of Estaples; but in consequence of fresh orders from England, they were soon re-embarked; and the fleet having stood over to the English coast, and being joined by more transports in Dover, they arrived on the 11th in the bay of La Hogue. When, however, they reconnoitred the preparations and force of the enemy, a descent was found to be impracticable. After paying another visit to La Hogue, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th, in consequence of his men falling sick, and his provisions failing. At first sight, there might appear to have been some defect in the planning or execution of this enterprise; but if we keep in mind the main object for which this armament was sent out, we shall be convinced, not only that the plan was good, but that Sir George Byng, in the execution of that plan, acted with his accustomed judgment and success. The design of the expedition undoubtedly was to disturb the French armaments which were then equipping on the coast, and to oblige the French government to march troops to protect their maritime towns, and thus prevent them from reinforcing their army in Flanders. In this object Sir George Byng succeeded, and as no real or permanent invasion was intended, he ought not to be censured for not having effected it.

In the course of 1708, he was honoured with the appointment of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon; while there, a commission was sent out, raising him to the rank of admiral of the white; and the Queen of Portugal presented him with her picture, set in very valuable diamonds. In the following year, he was commander-in-chief of the fleet on the Mediterranean station, and made attempts upon Alicant and Cadiz, in which, however, from causes and circumstances which completely exonerated him from all blame, he was not successful. On the 8th of November in the same year, having re-

turned to England, he was appointed one of the lords of the Admiralty; which situation, except for a very short interval, he held till he was created Viscount Torrington.

His character for enterprise, activity, and vigilance, was now so well established, that in 1715, when the rebellion broke out, he was employed on a kind of service, where these qualities were essentially requisite, being appointed to the command of a squadron in the Downs, where he examined every ship that put to sea, and by his interest and address obtained an order from the court of France to reland at Havre de Grace a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which had intended to be landed in Scotland, for the use of the rebels. In consequence of the high opinion which his majesty entertained of his proceedings while he had this command, he was pleased to create him a baronet; and, as a mark and proof of his personal attachment, to present him with a diamond ring of considerable value. In the year 1717, he contributed to prevent another invasion; Charles XII. of Sweden having taken umbrage at George I. on account of the latter having purchased Bremen, meditated a descent upon Great Britain; which induced the British ministry to send Admiral Byng into the Baltic, with a powerful squadron of twenty-one ships of the line, and several frigates; on the appearance of which, the Swedes did not dare to put to sea.

In 1718, the court of Spain having made naval preparations on a large and unusual scale, the British cabinet took the alarm, and determined to send a fleet into the Mediterranean, for the protection of the neutrality of Italy: of this fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship, Sir George Byng was appointed commander; and on the 1st of August he anchored in the bay of Naples. The official instructions which were given him, were not very clearly or accurately expressed; but they were ex-

plained verbally to him by those who had then the direction of affairs. Sir George, on this, as on all other occasions where his public services were required, did not consider it his duty to examine into the justice or policy of the measures which he was ordered to pursue; his sole duty as a naval officer he rightly conceived to be, to execute his orders in the most prompt and effectual manner; and on this occasion, through his wisdom and skill, the expedition completely and satisfactorily answered the purpose for which it was entrusted to his care.

His arrival in the bay of Naples was hailed with joy and gratitude by all the inhabitants of that city, and particularly by the imperial viceroy: indeed, his coming was very opportune, and indispensably necessary to the safety of the place; since the kingdom of Naples was about to share the fate of Sicily, which the Marquis de Lede, the Spanish general, had conquered almost as soon as he had landed: and though the great majority of the common people in Naples were favourable to the government and interests of the house of Austria, yet a strong party of the nobility were attached to Spain, and the country was in a very bad state of defence.

The imperial viceroy at Naples presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command. All kinds of provisions and refreshments were sent out to the fleet in great abundance; the shore was crowded with coaches and people; and when the admiral landed, he was saluted by all the cannon of the city and castles, and conducted to court with all the honours paid to a viceroy.

Having by the 6th of August concerted with the viceroy, the plan which it was judged most politic and prudent to pursue, Admiral Byng sailed from the bay of Naples; and as the first object of his enterprise was to be the relief of the Citadel of Messina, which was at this time closely besieged by the Marquis de Lede, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men; he took with

him a number of transports, having on board two thousand German troops. Before, however, he actually commenced hostilities with the Spaniards, he was induced both by a regard to his instructions, and by the natural disposition of his mind, to use his utmost endeavours to put a stop to the miseries of war: for this purpose he sent his first captain to Messina, with a letter to the Spanish general, recommending a truce for two months, in order that the differences between the courts of Madrid and Vienna might, if possible, be accommodated; in his letter, he also informed the Spanish general of the instructions under which he acted, and intimated to him in no ambiguous terms, that his desire to put a stop to the war, by no means proceeded from any apprehension he entertained respecting the result, or from the inadequacy of his own means of carrying it on successfully. The character of Admiral Byng appears to great advantage on this occasion, and is the more to be admired, in so far as it seldom happens, that a sincere love of peace is found along with military habits and talents, and the power of vigorously prosecuting hostilities. As the Marquis de Lede had no authority from his court to agree to the proposal of an armistice, and besides considered himself as very near the accomplishment of his scheme, in the reduction of Messina, he declined the proposal of Admiral Byng.

Every thing having now been done to prevent hostilities between England and Spain, which policy required, or the national interest and honour permitted, the admiral determined to proceed to Messina, in order to encourage the garrison to a vigorous and persevering defence: this determination was formed in consequence of information he received, that the Spanish fleet had quitted the bay of Messina; but afterwards learning that it was off the coast of Calabria, he altered his resolution, and sailed in quest of it. As soon as the enemy perceived Admiral Byng's squadron, they formed the line, and stood away: Sir

George pursued them, but he did not come up with them till the morning of the 11th of August; at this time the Spanish rear-admiral, with six ships, and all the smaller vessels stood off from the main body of the fleet, for the coast of Sicily: against them Captain Walton was dispatched, while Admiral Byng pursued the rest, and the action began about ten o'clock. The English fleet was superior to that of the enemy, notwithstanding which circumstance, and that the Spaniards were not prepared to encounter an English squadron, the battle was fought with great courage by most of their ships; it ended, however, in a compleat victory on the part of the English; thirteen of the Spanish vessels, including three of their flag ships, being taken or destroyed.

The intelligence of this victory was received in England with different feelings, according to the different views that were taken of the justice of attacking the Spanish fleet, without any declaration of war: some considered the victory as one of the noblest exploits that had been achieved since the revolution; others, forming perhaps the majority of the nation, regarded it in quite a different light; and when an address was moved for, in parliament, to justify the measure, it was warmly and strongly opposed in both houses, but without effect. It will naturally be imagined, that where there was so much party feeling respecting the attack on the Spanish fleet, the admiral who was concerned in it, could not escape without censure: for a long time, indeed, it was currently and confidently asserted, that Sir George Byng had acted on this occasion, without authority or instructions to that effect. Being conscious of his own innocence, and sensible that he was only suffering under an imputation, to which all public men are more or less exposed, from their station and employment, he did not trouble himself to repel the charge: his character, however, was effectually cleared up in the opinion, even of the most violent and preju-

diced of his enemies, some years afterwards, by the publication of an authentic account of the whole affair, and more particularly by a letter from Earl Stanhope, who was at that time secretary to the Admiralty, in which this nobleman gives it as his decided opinion, that the first blow should, if possible, be decisive.

Immediately after the defeat of the Spanish squadron, Admiral Byng sent his son to England with the intelligence, who returned with full powers to his father, to enter into negotiations with the different princes and states of Italy, according as he should see occasion, or judge them to be expedient or necessary.

On the 2d of November, the admiral returned to Naples, where he continued till the 3d of February following: this time was occupied in concerting measures with the viceroy for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The defeat of the Spanish squadron had already greatly changed the face of affairs. The imperial troops; under the protection of the English fleet, had been introduced into all the fortresses in Italy, which still held out, and England had regularly issued a declaration of war against Spain. As Sir George Byng could not conveniently refit his fleet at Naples, he sailed thence for port Mahon, leaving, however, some ships under Captain Matthews, to watch Rear-admiral Cammock, and prevent his escaping out of Messina.*

* Of this misguided and unfortunate man, who was a most excellent seaman; much better, according to Campbell, than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet, and whose advice, if it had been taken in the last council of war held before the battle, would probably have saved it; the following particulars given in the *Biographia Britannica*, will probably interest our readers:—

“ This unhappy man, was a native of Ireland, and being bred at sea, had raised himself to the post of a captain, and served in our navy in Queen Ann’s war, with a good character; but associating himself with those who were enemies to the house of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious with the government, on the accession of

Sir George Byng, always distinguished by his zeal and activity, and by the promptitude and prudence with which

“ that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered
 “ into the service of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of
 “ a rear-admiral, and served in that post in the expedition against
 “ Sicily. He was a man of a bold enterprising genius, of which
 “ he gave a remarkable instance or two, in the course of this expedition,
 “ which, as they are not at all foreign to our purpose, we shall
 “ relate, especially as they were the actions of a native of this kingdom,
 “ though a degenerate one. The Germans being besieged at
 “ Melazzo, a town in Sicily, and having no provisions but what came
 “ by sea from Calabria, and other ports of Naples, Admiral Byng appointed
 “ Captain Walton to cruise with a squadron upon that station, to hinder
 “ Rear-admiral Cammoek from coming out of the Faro, and to secure the
 “ passage of the vessels with provisions from the German camp, to which
 “ none had then arrived in a month: and Captain Walton being blown off
 “ his station, Cammoek took hold of this opportunity to get out of Messina,
 “ as the weather abated, and appearing before Tropea with English colours,
 “ sent a letter on shore to the governor, under a fictitious name of one of
 “ the English captains, acquainting him that he came there by Admiral Byng’s
 “ orders to convoy the embarkations to Mellazo; and pressed him to dispatch
 “ them away, the place being in the utmost distress. Had this stratagem
 “ succeeded, it would have entirely ruined the emperor’s affairs in Sicily:
 “ but the governor happening to be a wary man, and observing the letter
 “ to be written on Genoa paper, from that single circumstance, conceived a
 “ suspicion, which made him refuse to send the embarkation out to him.
 “ In the mean time, Admiral Byng, then at Naples, being made sensible of
 “ the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left,
 “ than to fill four men-of-war with provisions, directing their captains to
 “ attempt at all hazards to get to Melazzo, which three of them did, with
 “ much difficulty and danger, (the fourth being disabled by bad weather,)
 “ and came providentially to the relief of the garrison, at a time they
 “ must otherwise have surrendered to the enemy, or perished by famine.
 “ A few days after, Captain Walton recovered his station, upon the sight
 “ of whom, Admiral Cammoek retired into Messina.
 “ The other project of Admiral Cammoek’s, seemed less likely to succeed
 “ than the former, for after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, he
 “ assured Don Joseph Patenhó, who had the absolute direction and
 “ management of the Spanish expedition, excepting the military part,
 “ that he could put most of the English fleet into his hands, in lieu of
 “ that he had lost; in confidence of which, he wrote a letter to Sir George
 “ Byng, to let him know that he had the pre-

he reaped the advantages of his success, spent no more time in port Mahon, than was absolutely necessary

“ tender’s commands to assure him, if he would bring over the greatest part of his fleet to Messina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Albermarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thousand pounds to support the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every captain should have ten thousand pounds, and the seamen a gratuity of two month’s wages; that Signior Patenho would satisfy him of the King of Spain’s security for the performance of this agreement, and that no body else but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the secret. Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deserved. He likewise sent another letter to Captain Walton, with a promise of a reward of ten thousand pounds, a commission of admiral of the blue, and to be made an English peer, if he would bring his ships into Messina; which the honest captain brought to the admiral, with vehement expressions of abhorrence and indignation.”

This account and character of Admiral Cammoek, is much more candid, as well as just and consistent, than that which is given of him by Mr. Corbett, who wrote the History of Sir George Byng’s Expedition to Sicily. According to him, though Cammoek had never been noted to want courage, yet, in the action off Passaro, he ran away among the first, and escaped to Malta, “affording an instance, how much a consciousness of guilt and dread of punishment, depresses the great, more than the fear of an enemy. He was a vain, boasting man, with a roving, unsettled head, filled with airy schemes and projects, without any judgment or discretion.” But, notwithstanding this character of him, which is more remarkable for a very laudable abhorrence of treason, than for that sobriety and coolness, which become a historian, Mr. Corbett attributes the defeat of the Spaniards, in a great measure, to their neglect of Admiral Cammoek’s advice; and as this was the opinion of Sir George Byng himself, we may be allowed to refuse our assent to that part of his character, which describes him as destitute of judgment and discretion.

Some further particulars are known respecting Admiral Cammoek, both prior, and subsequent to the action off Passaro, which we shall subjoin:—

He was descended from an ancient and respectable family, which had long been settled in Essex. From this county, one of his ancestors removed to Ireland, during the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, where he obtained considerable property. It is not known where Mr. Cammoek was born, nor at what period of his life he entered into the naval service. In the month of September, 1692, he

to refit his squadron: he was sensible that as one of the most valuable and important conséquences of his late vic-

was appointed first lieutenant of the *Loyal Merchant*; and in the following year, he was sent along with Sir George Rooke's squadron, to convoy the Smyrna fleet. At this time he was distinguished and commended for his faithful and strict attention to the duties of his situation, by the different commanders under whom he served. In 1695, he was appointed to be acting captain of a brigantine, called the *Intelligence*; and in this vessel he was attached to the Channel fleet. About the time of the accession of Queen Anne, the regular distinction between post captains, and those officers who commanded vessels, not carrying twenty guns, (since called masters and commanders) commenced. Mr. Cammock seems to have been one of the first who was raised to this new rank; for, in the first year of Queen Anne, he was appointed commander of the *Bonetta* sloop, and ordered to cruise between Cape Finistere and Cape Clear.

On the 6th of June, 1702, he was made post captain, and had the command of the *Speedwell*, a small frigate, given him. In this vessel he continued for several years; during the whole of which time, he was distinguished for the same zealous and diligent discharge of his duty, which had contributed to advance him in the service, and to recommend him to the notice and approbation of his superior officers. Either in consequence of his good fortune, or of his activity, or, most probably, favoured by both, he enjoyed several opportunities of distinguishing himself while he commanded the *Speedwell*. In the month of June, 1706, being on a cruise, in company with the *Shoreham*, he fell in with a French West India fleet, consisting of ten sail, bound for Martinique: five of these were captured, and carried into Ireland, near the coast of which, he was then cruising. A short time after this capture, he was sent on the West India station; where his success and gallantry were very conspicuous, in an attack which he made on a French privateer, lying in the harbour of Basseterre, in the island of Guadaloupe: in spite of the force of this vessel, and the situation in which she was lying; he succeeded in burning her; and by his gallant intrepidity, greatly alarmed the inhabitants. In the spring of 1707, he returned from the West India station, having under his protection, a vessel from Guinea, with a very valuable cargo, part of which consisted of a considerable quantity of gold dust. On his passage home, he captured two vessels, one of which, a brigantine, mounted six guns.

He was again ordered to cruise off the coast of Ireland; but nothing important happened to him till the month of May, 1709, when he was ordered by the lord lieutenant of Ireland to go in quest of two French privateers, who were lying in Bantry bay: of his conduct on

tory, Sicily, might be restored to the Austrian dominion ; he therefore sailed for Naples, in order to adjust the

this occasion it is unnecessary to speak here, as Campbell has already fully detailed, and justly commended it, (see vol. iv. p. 72.) Soon after his success on the Irish station, he was appointed to the command of the Monk ; and in the month of April, 1712, having received intelligence that several of the enemy's privateers were cruising in the Channel, he sailed in quest of them. The very day on which he sailed, he captured the Salamander, of sixteen guns and one hundred and fifty men ; and the next day he retook a vessel belonging to Cork, valued at eight thousand pounds. As he had received information that the enemy's privateers intended to land near Crookshaven, he proceeded thither, erected two batteries on each side the harbour, which he entrenched, and assembled the militia, so that the vessels which were lying there could not be attacked. Having thus rendered Crookshaven secure, he again sailed after the enemy, and coming up with one of the privateers, after an engagement of two hours, captured her : she mounted forty guns, and had on board three hundred and fifty-five men ; the value of the ships taken and saved by Captain Cammock during this cruise, was estimated at upwards of fifty thousand pounds.

A short time before the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, Captain Cammock having manifested an attachment to the cause and interests of the house of Stewart, was dismissed from the service : he soon afterwards entered into the Spanish service, in which he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral : in the battle of Passaro, his flag was hoisted on board the *St. Ferdinand*, of sixty guns.

We have already mentioned in the text, that after the defeat of the Spaniards, Sir George Byng dispatched Captain Matthews to watch Admiral Cammock, who had taken refuge in Messina. While the admiral lay in this harbour, he fitted out a number of small privateers from the Lipari islands, which were very successful in intercepting the supplies destined for the use of the German troops. In order to protect and secure the passage of the vessels which carried these supplies, and at the same time more completely to block up Admiral Cammock, Sir George Byng ordered Captain Walton, with a small squadron, to cruise off Messina : but the admiral (Captain Walton having been compelled to leave his station, in consequence of tempestuous weather,) was so fortunate as to effect his escape. He immediately sailed for Tropea, which was in possession of the Germans ; and when he reached that place, he hoisted English colours : his object was, by this stratagem, to obtain possession of the stores and provisions that were deposited there ; but this object was frustrated by the cautions and sceptical penetration of the governor, as has

necessary measures for that purpose. While he was in this city, an event occurred, deserving of notice, strongly indicating the bigotry, ignorance, credulity, and superstition of the Neapolitans. As Sir George Byng was justly regarded, not only as the protector of Naples, but as the person to whom they ought to look up for the restoration of Sicily, the viceroy and his court paid him every kind of attention and respect; nothing was omitted on their parts, which could render his abode pleasant, or point him out to the people as the proper object of their veneration and gratitude. The festival of St. Januarius, the favourite and protecting saint of the Neapolitans, took place while he was there; and as, on this occasion, some of the most wonderful of the Catholic miracles are performed, and there is, besides, a great display of magnificence and grandeur, the viceroy appointed Sir George Byng a box near his own, in order that he might be the better able to observe the whole ceremony. It happened, however, that on the head of the saint being applied to the bottle which contained the blood, it continued a much longer time than usual without liquefying. We may naturally suppose, that the priests were excessively anxious that the credit and honour of their favourite saint should not suffer in the eyes of a heretic, and of a man in whose estimation they wished to stand high; they therefore used every endeavour to promote and accelerate the liquefaction of the blood. The saint was invoked with the utmost

been already related. From Messina, he contrived to effect his escape in a small frigate, in the beginning of February, 1719; but this vessel being chased by one of Captain Matthews's squadron, the admiral left her and took to a boat, in which, with much difficulty, he reached Catania: the frigate was captured, and on board of her were found all his effects and papers; and, among the latter, a commission from the Pretender, appointing him admiral of the white.

Scarcely any thing is known respecting him after this period, except that he was banished to Ceuta, where he died in obscurity and distress.

zeal and fervour, and as, when he does not grant the wishes of his votaries, they not unfrequently have recourse to contemptuous and threatening language, upbraiding him with want of power, or want of gratitude, and expressing their resolution to dismiss him from his high rank, we may suppose, that on this unlooked-for and most embarrassing circumstance, these means were not neglected. Still, however, in spite of all their endeavours, the saint was not disposed to comply with their request; the blood remained solid, nor did it even give the most distant and equivocal signs that the liquefaction was about to commence.

The anxiety and disappointment of the priests now communicated themselves to the vast assemblage of people, who were collected on this grand occasion: they anticipated some national calamity; their favourite and protecting saint was evidently displeased with them; and under the curse of his displeasure, they could not expect to be fortunate, either individually, or as a nation. Such were their first sentiments and feelings, when they witnessed the unavailing efforts of the priests to bring about the liquefaction of the blood: but these sentiments and feelings soon gave place to others, and they began to suspect either the power of the saint, or the influence of the priests over him: it was of the utmost consequence that the suspicions of the people should be turned into a different channel, and on a different object; and this was effected without much difficulty. At first, they merely shewed signs of disappointment and concern; and probably supposing that their saint wished to be invoked with more zeal and perseverance, before he would favour them with the desired and customary miracle, began to pray; but their prayers answering no purpose, they proceeded to groans and lamentations; and at last, a confused murmuring and uneasiness arose among them, and their eyes were directed, with no pleasant expression, towards

the box in which Admiral Byng sat. The viceroy immediately perceived the turn which their thoughts and suspicions had taken ; and convinced, from the character of the Neapolitans, especially when their natural character is acted upon by their bigoted and superstitious hatred of heretics, that not even the veneration and respect which they felt for the admiral, nor the distinguished favour and honour which he received from himself, could possibly protect him ; and being apprehensive of some bad consequences, he sent Count Hamilton to the admiral, to beg that he would not be offended at him, or displeased at the people, but, in his opinion, it would be more prudent to retire, since he did not know what would be the consequence, if the populace should proceed to act on the suspicion which they evidently entertained, that the miracle had failed, because the saint was displeased at his presence. The admiral had just quitted his box, and was on the point of stepping into the carriage of the viceroy, when he heard the accents of joy and congratulation ; the saint, no longer displeased or offended at his presence, had yielded to the wishes and prayers of his votaries ; the miracle was performed, which the populace regarded as a most convincing proof, that St. Januarius had not deserted them, but would still avert from them every national calamity ; and *il fatto, il fatto*, “ it is done, it is done,” resounded through the assembly.

The measure first in importance and necessity, which the admiral concluded with the viceroy, respected the conveyance of the imperial army to the island of Sicily. Not only was this effected with the utmost expedition, but it was supplied, at the same time, with every thing requisite for its support and operations ; and the enemy were effectually prevented, either from obstructing or retarding its passage, or from throwing reinforcements into the island. Admiral Byng did even more than this towards the accomplishment of this grand object : the first thing

to be attempted, was the recapture of the city of Messina. This required a large supply of cannon, powder, and ball, with which the imperial army were not adequately provided; the admiral therefore sent them from his ships, and by this co-operation, as well as by his advice and assistance in other respects during the siege, the Germans retook Messina in the summer of the year 1719. Before, however, the British fleet could come to anchor in the road of Paradise, it was absolutely necessary to obtain possession of the town of Faro: this the admiral effected, by landing a body of English grenadiers, who soon made themselves masters of it, and thus opened a safe and easy passage for the fleet into the roadstead. By placing his ships in this situation, the admiral hoped effectually to prevent the Spanish fleet from putting to sea, without being under the necessity of employing a force to blockade them; and he soon had the satisfaction to perceive that his object was accomplished; for the Spaniards, as soon as they saw the British fleet in Paradise-road, unrigged their ships, and determined to make their fate depend upon the fate of the citadel of Messina, which still held out. Hitherto, by the prudent and conciliating, but firm manner of Sir George Byng, the allies had carried on the war with the utmost cordiality; but as it too frequently happens in all alliances, prosperity dissolves those which had remained close and sincere during the pressure of adversity. As soon as the citadel of Messina should be reduced, (and that event could not be far distant,) the Spanish ships would necessarily fall into the possession of the allies; and the dispute was respecting the division of the anticipated prize. It is probable that this dispute might have been attended with very serious consequences to the cause and interest of the allies, and perhaps have dissolved the alliance before the reduction of the citadel, had not Admiral Byng suggested an expedient, to which all parties agreed, and which most effectually cut off the

source of difference: he proposed that a battery should be erected, and that by the fire of this battery they should be destroyed, as they lay in the basin. This proposal he was induced to make, not merely because he thought it best calculated to terminate the difference, but because he was rather apprehensive that the garrison might capitulate, on condition that the ships should be allowed to go to Spain; and this he was determined never to suffer. When the proposal for destroying them was first made, Count de Mercy, the imperial minister, objected to it, saying that he had no authority or orders to that extent or purpose, and that before he gave his consent, he must write to the viceroy for instructions. To this most frivolous and ill-timed objection, Admiral Byng very pointedly replied with considerable warmth, that he could not possibly want a power to destroy any thing belonging to an enemy; and he insisted on his plan with so much firmness, that the count gave a reluctant consent. Signor Scarampi, the Sardinian minister, next objected to the destruction of the Spanish fleet, on the ground that two of the best and newest vessels which were in it, had belonged to his master, from whom they were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo; and that thus his master's property would be destroyed, along with that of the enemy: but Admiral Byng having overcome the objections of the imperial minister, was not disposed to give up his plan, in consequence of those of Signor Scarampi: a battery was therefore erected, the ships were destroyed, and thus, by the bravery and prudence of Sir George, the ruin of the naval power of Spain was rendered complete; and the allies, in the very midst of their prosperity, for which they were most materially indebted to him, were saved from disunion.

Very soon after this event, the advice of Admiral Byng was very advantageous to the allies: the Spaniards had succeeded in driving the imperialists out of Sardinia, and

the imperial court were anxious that this island should be reconquered as soon as possible; they therefore proposed that the attempt to conquer Sardinia and Sicily should be carried on at the same time: but to this plan the admiral rightly and very strongly objected, wisely conceiving, that in all probability, the conquest of neither island could be effected, if the forces were thus weakened by division; and that if Sicily should fall, Sardinia would speedily, and without much difficulty or resistance, share the same fate: he therefore persuaded the imperial court to lay aside the expedition to Sardinia, and to employ all their strength in the reduction of Sicily. The citadel of Messina still held out, and the admiral, convinced that the besiegers were deficient in the requisite number of artillery, went to Naples in order to procure them: but here he had a most decided proof of the want of means, or the want of foresight, of the Neapolitan government; for though the reduction of Sicily was so very desirable, and even necessary an object, and though a considerable length of time had now elapsed since it had been in contemplation, yet there were not to be found in Naples the military stores requisite to carry on a siege in a regular and effectual manner. So zealous and sincere, however, was the admiral in the cause of the allies, and so little disposed to seek for matter of complaint, or even to urge it where it did exist, that he immediately gave up all the cannon which had been taken in the ships that were captured from the Spaniards; and went still farther, purchasing on his own credit, and at his own risk, powder and other ammunition from Genoa. Having thus secured all he could obtain at Naples, and finding that the troops, which, by his advice, had been turned aside from the proposed attempt against Sardinia, to assist in the reduction of Sicily, were not yet embarked at Genoa, he went from Naples thither, in order to superintend and accelerate their embarkation. Here his firmness and address were

again requisite: Count Bonneval, who commanded them, either not sincere, or, at least, not so zealous and active as the admiral, urged many reasons for delay. To these the admiral paid no attention; he was convinced, that if the troops were to be of essential service, they ought to be embarked directly; and when he was of opinion that any measure was necessary, he was not easily discouraged by difficulties from carrying it into immediate and full execution. On this occasion, he acted in perfect consistency with his character, and the rules by which he made a point of regulating his conduct: and in a very short time after his arrival at Genoa, all the troops were embarked.

During his stay in this city, he was treated with the utmost honour and respect, being justly regarded as the man on whose advice and exertions the success of the imperial arms principally depended. On his return to Messina, which took place on the 8th of October, a very flattering and decisive proof of the confidence which was reposed in him by the army occurred: it was employed at this time in carrying on the siege of the citadel, and their spirits were so elevated on the first sight of the British fleet, that they immediately made a vigorous attack upon a half moon, and carried it. When the admiral went ashore to the general's quarters, he was received and embraced by him, and all the superior officers, with every demonstration of joy and gratitude. In ten days after his arrival, the citadel of Messina surrendered; but such was the inactivity and want of resources of the allies, that had it not been for the foresight and judgment of the admiral, these succours would have been of very little advantage; for the Germans, finding that they could not subsist their army near Messina, were disposed to embark it for Calabria during the winter: but he represented to them the absurdity of this plan, and pointed out a mode by which they might be extricated out of their difficulties: this was

to transport the army to Trapani, and to subsist it there by corn purchased at Tunis, which he offered to do at his own expense. The advantages of having the army near Trapani, the admiral insisted upon in very strong terms: thus the Spaniards would be obliged to remain in the field during the whole of the winter, and to make harassing and uneasy marches; the city of Palermo would be kept in awe, and their own army would be well supplied, and be in a fit condition to commence the siege of this place on the approach of spring. The plan was so judicious, and the reasons for adopting it were brought forward by the admiral in such a perspicuous and convincing manner, that the imperial minister rose up, and embraced him with great feeling and transport, exclaiming, "That he had hit upon the only method practicable, not only for the preservation of the army, but also for pushing on the war with success."

The beneficial consequences of this measure were soon apparent; the Marquis de Lede was distressed to such a degree, that he proposed to evacuate the island. This the imperial minister was inclined to grant; but the admiral protested most strongly against it, and sent his son to Vienna, to intimate in plain and decided language, that if the imperial court acceded to the proposal of the Marquis de Lede, he would not allow any part of the army of the enemy to leave Sicily, till the King of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received positive orders from his own court to permit their departure. The Spanish general, aware of the difference of opinion that subsisted between the admiral and the rest of the allies, thought this a good opportunity to endeavour to widen the breach to such a degree, as to separate him entirely from the Germans. For this purpose, he sent to the admiral a Spanish gazette, which contained an agreement for a suspension of arms, concluded at the Hague by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain; and

agreeably to this treaty, he proposed a separate cessation of arms: but the admiral very properly replied, that a treaty in a foreign newspaper ought not to regulate his conduct; and that he undoubtedly would continue to act hostilely, till he received orders to the contrary from his own court: and even after he received instructions to come to a suspension of arms with Spain, without waiting for settling the terms on which the island of Sicily was to be evacuated, he, on his own responsibility, refused to accede to the request of the marquis; for he clearly saw, that if a suspension of hostilities at sea took place before the island was evacuated, reinforcements might be introduced into it, which would enable and dispose the enemy to demand much better terms than he would otherwise have asked or accepted. In this resolution he was confirmed, by finding that the convention that was signed at the Hague left him at liberty to treat as he thought proper; he therefore informed the Spanish general, that he would not, on any terms, separate himself from his allies.

As soon as the season permitted, the Germans began the siege of Palermo; the Spanish army was encamped before it, and a general battle was about to take place, when the intelligence of the King of Spain's accession to the quadruple alliance arrived: a suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, by the terms of which the Germans obtained possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army embarked for Barcelona. As soon as every thing was settled in Sicily, Admiral Byng sailed for Sardinia, for the purpose of seeing that the terms of the peace were regularly and expeditiously executed, so far as they regarded that island. By these terms, the Spanish viceroy was to surrender it to the emperor, and the emperor was to cede it to the Duke of Savoy. Such confidence in the promptitude, zeal, and firmness of the admiral had the latter, that he particularly requested he would not leave

the island till he had seen the whole of the treaty fully executed, the Spanish troops had returned into Spain, and he himself had been put in quiet and regular possession of his new kingdom. But still higher praise awaited the admiral on this occasion; for while he was most watchfully and conscientiously attentive to the interests of the allies, he was most honourable and fair in his dealings with the Spaniards, and conducted himself rather as an impartial umpire, chosen by both parties, or as the friend of both, than as the representative of one of the interested powers. So highly pleased was the King of Spain with the whole of his conduct on this occasion, that he expressed great satisfaction at it to the British court. From the new King of Sardinia he received his picture, set in diamonds. Never had the British character stood so high, nor was the British flag in such reputation and respect; and this almost entirely through the judicious, honourable, and brave conduct of Sir George Byng.

As soon as he had settled every thing in the Mediterranean, he was sent for by the special command of King George I. in order to attend his majesty to Hanover: while he was there, he was appointed treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain; and on the king's return to England, he was made one of the most honourable privy council. In 1721, he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Torrington, and Baron Byng of Southill, in the county of Bedford. The preamble of his patent is well worthy of being quoted, as highly honourable to him, and giving a brief and elegant abstract of his services.

“ As the grandeur and stability of the British Empire
“ depended chiefly upon knowledge and experience in
“ maritime affairs, we esteem those worthy of the highest
“ honours, who, acting under our influence, exert them-
“ selves in maintaining our dominion over the sea. It
“ is for this reason, that we have determined to advance,

“ to the dignity of peerage, our trusty and well-beloved
“ counsellor, Sir George Byng, knight and baronet, who;
“ being descended from an ancient family in Kent, and
“ educated, from his youth, in the sea service, hath,
“ through several posts, arrived at the highest station and
“ command in our navy, by the strength of his own abilities, and a merit distinguished by our predecessors,
“ and ourselves, in the many important services which he
“ has performed with remarkable fidelity, courage, and
“ success. In the late vigorous wars, which raged so
“ many years in Europe;—wars, fruitful of naval combats
“ and expeditions;—there was scarcely any action of any
“ consequence, wherein he did not bear a principal part;
“ nor were any dangers or difficulties so great, but he
“ surmounted them, by his exquisite conduct,—a good
“ fortune that never failed him. Particularly, when a
“ storm was gathering in France, and it was uncertain
“ upon what part of the coast it would fall,—with the
“ greatest sagacity and diligence, he flew to the very
“ place of danger, rescuing our capital city of Scotland,
“ from the threatened attack of a French squadron, which
“ had many rebels and numerous forces on board; and,
“ by his very appearance, defeated the vain hopes of the
“ enemy; compelling them to relinquish their enterprise,
“ and to seek their safety by a flight towards their own
“ ports, not without loss. With no less vigilance, he repulsed, not long since, the like machinations of the
“ same traitors, in the ports of France, who were so concerted at his presence, as to abandon the schemes
“ they had projected: for which service, we conferred on
“ him the dignity of a baronet; the first mark of our royal
“ favor. Moreover, lately, when new contentions were
“ springing up in Italy, and the discord of princes was on
“ the point of embroiling Europe again in a war, he did,
“ with singular felicity of conduct, interpose with our
“ squadron, crushing, at one blow, the laboured efforts

“ of Spain, to set up a power at sea ; and advanced the
“ reputation of our arms in the Mediterranean to such a
“ pitch, that our flag gave law to the contending parties,
“ and enabled us to resettle the tranquillity that had been
“ disturbed. It is just, therefore, we should distinguish
“ with higher titles, a subject who has so eminently
“ served us and his country, both as monuments of his
“ own merit, and to influence others to a love and pursuit
“ of virtue.”

In the year 1725, (having resigned, the year before, the office of treasurer of the navy, in favour of his son, Pattee Byng) on the revival of the most ancient and honourable order of the knights of the bath, he was made one of them ; and during the remainder of the reign of King George I. he continued to possess the royal confidence, esteem, and favour, in a most distinguished and flattering manner. On the accession of George II. to the throne, one of his majesty's first acts, was to place Lord Torrington at the head of the board of Admiralty. This arduous and important situation he held till his death ; and during the whole period, he was unremitting in his exertions, to place the naval force of the kingdom on the best footing, in giving encouragement to seamen ; and he particularly distinguished himself, by patronizing and promoting the scheme for the establishment of a corporation, for the relief of the widows and children of commission and warrant officers in the royal navy. He died at his house in the Admiralty, of an asthma, in January, 1733, in the seventieth year of his age ; and in him, the British seamen lost a true and zealous friend ; and his country, a real and enlightened patriot. He was buried at Southill, in Bedfordshire. His lordship married in the year 1691, Margaret, daughter of James Master, of East Langden, in the county of Kent, esq. by whom he had eleven sons and four daughters : of these, there survived him, Pattee, George, Robert, John, Edward, and Sarah.

The latter was married to the eldest son of Sir John Osborne, of Chichyard, in Bedfordshire, baronet, and was the mother of Sir Danvers Osborne. John was bred up to the sea; his fate is too well known for the justice and honour of his country: the particulars of his life will be afterwards given. Pattee, the eldest son, (who, as has been already stated, succeeded his father, as treasurer of the navy, in the year 1724) succeeded to the title of Viscount Torrington: he continued to hold the treasurership, and was, on the death of his father, appointed a member of the privy council. He was afterwards made vice-treasurer of Ireland, and captain of the yeomen of the guards. Dying without issue, in the year 1746, he was succeeded in the title, by his brother George, then a brigadier in the army.

Of the expedition to Sicily, the most important event in the life of Lord Torrington, and during which, all the characteristic and commanding faculties of his mind displayed themselves in their greatest vigour, and with admirable effect, a very particular and faithful account was published by Mr. Corbett, afterwards secretary to the Admiralty. As this gentleman lived in habits of great intimacy with his lordship and his family, he was well able to draw his character; and it must be confessed, that the customary and very excusable partiality of friendship, has not, in this instance, done more than justice to the portrait. Some points of his character, he has, perhaps, scarcely brought sufficiently forward, or commended so distinctly or highly as they deserved.

“The late King,” (George I.) observes Mr. Corbett, “who had named the admiral for the expedition to Sicily, and knew his abilities, used to say to his ministers when they applied to him for instructions to be sent to the admiral for his guidance, on certain important occasions, that he would send him none; for he knew how to act without any; and indeed, all the measures

“ he took abroad, were so exact and just, as to square
“ with the councils and plans of policy at home. The
“ cause of the emperor being become the cause of his
“ master, he served the interests of that prince, with a
“ zeal and fidelity that stood a pattern to his own sub-
“ jects. He lived in such harmony with the imperial
“ viceroys and generals, as have been seldom seen among
“ fellow subjects united in command; the want of which
“ has proved the ruin of many important expeditions.
“ He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold and
“ negligent manner: and when any service was com-
“ mitted to his management, he devoted his whole time
“ and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indispo-
“ sition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention
“ from any point that required dispatch. To this it
“ might be in a great measure owing, that he was never
“ unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any
“ service that was entrusted to his directions.

“ He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left
“ nothing to fortune, that might be accomplished by fore-
“ sight and application. His firmness and plain dealing
“ were so apparent to the foreigners who treated with
“ him upon business, that it contributed much to the dis-
“ patch and success of their transactions with them, for
“ they could depend upon what he said; and as they saw
“ he used no arts or chicane himself, and had too discern-
“ ing a spirit to suffer them to pass unobserved in others,
“ they often found it the best policy to leave their in-
“ terests in his hands and management, being very sure
“ of a most impartial and punctual performance of what-
“ ever he engaged in.

“ His reputation was so thoroughly established in this
“ particular, that in the frequent disputes and altercations
“ which arose between the Germans and Savoyards, in
“ the course of the war; and between the former and the
“ Spaniards, at the conclusion of it, wherein little faith

“ or confidence was given to the promises or asseverations
“ of each other, he was the common umpire between
“ them, always stemming or opposing any unjust de-
“ mands, which the overbearing temper of the German
“ general was very apt to suggest, where he had the su-
“ perior hand; and reconciling, as much as possible, the
“ violences of war, with the rules of honour and justice.

“ When he departed from Italy, to attend his late ma-
“ jesty at Hanover, the king, among many gracious ex-
“ pressions, told him that he had found out the secret of
“ obliging his enemies, as well as his friends; and that
“ the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknow-
“ ledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour in the pro-
“ vision of transports, and other necessities for the em-
“ barkation of their troops; and in protecting them from
“ many vexations and oppressions, that had been at-
“ tempted.

“ No wonder, that a man endowed with such talents,
“ and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy, and
“ other foreign parts, the character of a great soldier,
“ an able statesman, and an honest man.

“ To give some description of his person,—he was of a
“ slender constitution, but well supplied with spirits,
“ which did not display themselves so much in gaiety of
“ conversation, as in activity in all the duties and func-
“ tions of his life and business, in which he was indefa-
“ tigable; and by a constant habit of industry, had har-
“ dened and inured a body, not naturally strong, to
“ patience of any fatigue. He had made no great pro-
“ ficiency in school learning, which the early age of going
“ to sea, seldom admits of: but his great diligence, joined
“ to excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour,
“ made him capable of conducting the most difficult ne-
“ gociations and commissions, with proper dignity and
“ address.”

To those who have attentively and impartially considered the conduct of Lord Torrington, especially during his command on the Sicilian expedition, this character will not appear to be overcharged: he united, indeed, in no common degree, the sagacity and adroitness of the politician, with the plainness and honesty of the seaman. Mr. Charnock, in drawing his character, makes a remark, not very intelligible, and, so far as it can be understood, not applicable or just. "In his civil capacity," he observes, "he appears to have suffered his attachment to particular forms and systems of government, to have hurried him into measures, moderate men would, perhaps, have hesitated to adopt: but, in the midst of his enthusiasm, he appears to have been directed, on all occasions, by what he honestly thought the good of his country." Now, certainly, his character did not partake of enthusiasm, nor is there any proof or instance of such an attachment to particular forms and systems of government, as Mr. Charnock ascribes to him. On all occasions, and more particularly, during the Sicilian expedition, he manifested, most undoubtedly, a strong and sincere attachment, not only to the cause of his own country, but also to that of her allies; and had the firmness, and, as the event proved, the policy to withstand every measure which he conceived would be detrimental to his allies, even when their ministers were indifferent or insensible to their own rights or interest: and it may be, that more moderate men, as Mr. Charnock observes, would have hesitated to adopt the measures which he did. But these measures were not the result of an attachment to any particular form or system of government, but sprung solely from what he conceived to be his duty to his own country and her allies. In short, Lord Torrington affords a remarkable and pleasing proof of what may be effected, even in the conduct of public affairs, by sa-

gacity and firmness, when directed and accompanied by honourable intentions, and by sincerity of language and behaviour.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN NORRIS; AND OF HIS SONS,
CAPTAIN RICHARD NORRIS, AND ADMIRAL
HARRY NORRIS.

IF the observation be correct and well founded, that the characters of men depend, in a more important degree, on the education which is betowed upon them, and on the circumstances under which they are placed, than on the inclinations, temper, and disposition originally impressed upon them by the hand of nature, it will not be a difficult matter to account for the characteristic qualities and habits of British seamen, nor for the uniformity of character which prevails among them.

The characteristic qualities and habits of British seamen, are evidently and necessarily made up of those which they derive from their professional life and occupation, and those which proceed from the character of the nation to which they belong. All seamen, must, though in different degrees, be obedient, submissive to the will of their superiors, unreflecting, active, and vigilant; uninformed respecting, or regardless of the habits and manners of common life. To these qualities and habits, British seamen add those which are derived from the freedom of the constitution under which they live, and from the firm belief, that the ocean is the dominion of Britain; that she has entrusted this part of her dominion, in an especial manner, to their care and protection; and that they are invincible on their own element. The least reflection will convince us, that from these causes there cannot be any radical difference of character in British seamen: some, indeed, may, and do, possess the charac-

teristic qualities and habits in a higher degree, or less mixed than others: but they all are most decidedly and widely distinguished from every other class of men. If these observations be correct, it cannot be expected that the biography of British seamen should present any great variety of character; still, however, it is not uninteresting, since it unfolds more fully and minutely, those features which make up the character of those men, on whom the fate of Britain mainly depends: for while the life of one eminent British seaman displays one feature more conspicuously than another, it must be useful and interesting, even on this account, that when taken in connection with the lives of other British seamen, the whole character is brought more fully forth. Thus, in the biography of Sir John Norris, the subject of this article, we shall perceive few of those more remarkable and rare qualities of a British seaman, while those less dazzling and splendid, though not less necessary in the common occurrence of a seafaring life, are easily distinguishable in his character.

Sir John Norris was of Irish extraction, and his family appears to have been respectable, both on account of its antiquity and situation in society. Early in life, he obtained what, at that time, was not uncommon, the king's letter, which gave him the lowest degree of rank in the sea service: he does not seem to have had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, till the battle of Beachy head, when, acting as a lieutenant, his conduct was deemed so meritorious, that on the 8th of July, 1690, he was appointed captain of the Pelican fire ship. As he neither possessed much interest, many opportunities of bringing himself conspicuously and successfully before the notice of his superiors, nor that pushing disposition which creates opportunities where they do not exist, he was neither very quick nor very regular in his promotion. In the year 1693, he had the command of the Sheerness, a frigate of twenty-eight guns: this vessel was one of the

squadron under Sir George Rooke that convoyed the Mediterranean fleet. The unfortunate circumstances of this expedition have been already detailed :—about ninety sail of merchantmen and three men-of-war, were captured. On the morning after the capture, the commander resolved to proceed to Madeira, for the purpose of collecting the scattered ships ; and on this occasion, as well as during the engagement, Mr. Norris, in the *Sheerness*, was particularly active and successful.

When he returned to England, he was advanced to the command of the *Carlisle*, a fourth rate, and joined the fleet in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Russell. In the beginning of January, 1695, the admiral sent Captain Killegrew with six sail of frigates, among which the *Carlisle* was one, to cruise for the protection of the trade. In the engagement which took place on the 18th of that month, between this squadron and two French men-of-war, Mr. Norris was distinguished for the skill and bravery with which he manœuvred and fought his ship ; and his conduct, on this occasion, having been represented to Admiral Russell, he was appointed to the command of the *Content*, of sixty-four guns, one of the vessels which had been captured. As the *Content* was a vessel of a very large class, as soon as she was refitted, she was mounted with seventy guns, and attached to the main fleet, under Admiral Russell. While Captain Norris commanded her, he captured a French frigate, called the *Foudroyant*, of thirty-two guns. As the superiority of the English ship was very considerable, there was no room for the display of much bravery ; but in other respects, this capture was very creditable to his seamanship. In the year 1696, he was appointed commander of a squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, four frigates, two bomb vessels, and two fire ships. the object of this squadron was, the recovery of the settlement of Hudson's bay. This expedition was not fortunate, though its want

of success could not, in any degree, be justly attributable to Captain Norris. While his squadron was lying in St. John's, Newfoundland, information was received, that a French fleet, superior to his own, was in those seas: a council of war was held, and by a majority, formed principally of land officers, it was resolved to put St. John's in a state of defence, and there wait the apprehended attack of the enemy. At this decision, Captain Norris was extremely disappointed and indignant; and having, since the first intelligence respecting the French fleet was received, reason to doubt whether it was so strong as had been represented, he dispatched a frigate to reconnoitre: his suspicions were confirmed, for, by the account of the frigates, the enemy's squadron was actually inferior to his own. Still, however, the council of war adhered to their former decision, and Captain Norris was compelled to acquiesce. While they thus lay at St. John's, that French squadron which they at first were informed were in those seas, actually arrived, with an intention to attack Newfoundland; but the commander gave up his design, when he viewed the strong defences of St. John's.

Towards the autumn of this year, Captain Norris returned to England; and as he had not succeeded in the object of his expedition, much popular clamour was excited; but it soon subsided, when it was reflected that the force of his squadron was so much inferior to that of the enemy; and that if Hudson's bay had not been recaptured, at least, Newfoundland had been preserved. During the subsequent peace, he had the command of the Winchester, and was employed on the Newfoundland and Mediterranean stations.

In the year 1702, he had the command of the Orford, of seventy guns, which composed one of the fleet sent under Sir George Rooke, to Cadiz, for the purpose of taking possession of that place for the Archduke Charles. During the course of this expedition, the violence of

Captain Norris's temper hurried him into the performance of an action, very unbecoming his character as a gentleman and a naval officer, and which might have ended fatally, had it not been for the interposition of the Duke of Ormond, who commanded the land forces employed on this occasion. From some cause, not known, either of a private or a professional nature, a dispute arose on the quarter deck of the Royal Sovereign, Sir George Rooke's ship, between Captain Norris and Captain Ley, first captain to Sir George. This dispute, at length, became so violent, that Captain Norris drew his sword upon his opponent: he was, of course, immediately put under arrest by the admiral; but having ingratiated himself with the Duke of Ormond, that nobleman wrote to Sir George in such strong terms in his behalf, that, upon his making a proper submission, he was liberated, and no farther notice was taken of the affair.

The next year he was ordered to proceed from Falmouth, to join Sir Cloudesley Shovel's fleet in the Mediterranean; and on his passage, he fell in with and captured a French privateer, mounting thirty-six guns, with a picked crew of two hundred and forty men. On this occasion, the enemy, notwithstanding their great inferiority, fought long and obstinately, as they did not surrender till nearly fifty of their men were either killed or wounded. On board Captain Norris's ship, there were only eight wounded, but her masts and rigging were very much cut up. Soon after he joined the fleet, he was sent by Sir Cloudesley Shovel on a mission which required a good deal of dexterity and management, to look into the harbour of Cadiz, and ascertain the amount of the enemy's force there: this he did, in a manner very satisfactory to the admiral. As he returned to England with the main fleet, it was hardly to be expected, that during the passage, he would have any opportunity of distinguishing himself, in a particular manner: yet such an opportunity

did occur, just as they were entering the Channel. At this time, the Orford, Warspight, and Lichfield, were ahead, when they discerned and gave chase to a single ship: on coming up with her, she proved to be a French ship of war, mounting fifty-two guns. As she was so very inferior, Captain Norris and his companions, naturally expected, neither a long nor an obstinate defence; but in this idea they were mistaken; the Hazard, as soon as she found that she could not escape, prepared for action; nor was she surrendered till after a defence of several hours, during which, she was rendered almost a complete wreck.

In Sir George Rooke's engagement off Malaga, Captain Norris behaved with great gallantry; his ship belonged to Sir Cloudesley Shovel's division, and was, in fact, one of his seconds; consequently, this admiral having an opportunity of witnessing his conduct on this important occasion, not only bestowed his friendship on him, but soon afterwards when he hoisted his flag on board the Britannia, made him his captain. During the expedition to the Mediterranean, in the year 1705, for the purpose of assisting the Archduke Charles, Captain Norris signalized himself so much in the attack on Fort Montjuï, that the archduke wrote a letter to Queen Anne, expressly recommending him to her majesty's notice and favour; and the admiral in order that he might have an opportunity of profiting by this recommendation, and be brought more particularly to the recollection of the queen, sent him home in the Canterbury, with the dispatches relative to the surrender of Barcelona. On this occasion he was created a knight, and presented with a purse containing a thousand guineas.

On the 10th of March, 1706-7, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, when he hoisted his flag on board the Torbay, and joined the Mediterranean fleet, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel; one branch of the impor-

tant and arduous service on which Sir Cloudesley was engaged this year, he especially entrusted to Admiral Norris, and thus gave him an opportunity of signalizing himself soon after his promotion to the flag. Before the principal and ultimate operations of the fleet could be carried into execution, it was judged proper to force the passage of the Var : and on this enterprise, Admiral Norris was sent with five ships of the line. Sir Cloudesley both on account of his friendship for Sir John, and in order that every arrangement and preparation for the success of the attack might be made under his own eye, accompanied him to the scene of action : the first thing to be done, was to silence the enemy's batteries by the fire from the ships ; this was soon effected, when Sir John landed with a detachment of six hundred seamen and marines, who had been previously put into the boats of the fleet, attacked the intrenchments in flank, and conducted the business with so much vigour and celerity, that the enemy abandoning their works, fled in the greatest disorder. On his return to England, he was named one of the flag officers, who assisted Prince George of Denmark in revising the sentence of the court martial, on the case of Sir Thomas Hardy, and being superior to the influence of popular clamour, as well as a man of known independance and bravery, his opinion on this occasion, is thought to have reconciled the nation to the acquittal of that officer.

Towards the end of this year he shifted his flag from the Torbay to the Exeter ; and on the 31st of December was ordered to convoy the Virginia fleet from Spithead down Channel ; when he arrived at Plymouth, he was appointed on the 8th of January rear-admiral of the white, and on the 26th vice-admiral of that squadron. As the Ranelagh, which was to be his flag ship, was then lying at Portsmouth, he immediately proceeded to that place, where he received orders to join Sir John Leake, who had been a short time

before made commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet. On this station, nothing personally connected with Sir John occurs, except that he was intrusted with a negociation with the Duke of Savoy, who was then at Turin, the object of which was to hasten the march of the troops intended to support the archduke's cause in Catalonia. This negociation did not demand or admit of much diplomatic skill; but though of an inferior description in point of importance and difficulty, it was conducted in such a manner as to do credit to Sir John.

On the 21st of December, 1708, having returned from the Mediterranean, he was appointed vice-admiral of the red; and on the 19th of November in the following year, he was promoted to the rank of admiral of the blue. In the beginning of 1710, he was ordered out to the Mediterranean as commander-in-chief. On that station, nothing interesting or important relative to him happened, except that by his judicious arrangements, he succeeded in repulsing the enemy on a descent which they made on the island of Sardinia. From this time till the year 1716, his life presents nothing remarkable.

The hostility of Charles XII. of Sweden against his country, or more properly speaking, against George I. is well known: among his other mad schemes, he planned the invasion of Great Britain: against this, perhaps it was scarcely necessary to have taken any precautionary measures; but as his hostility was much more injurious in the Baltic, where the Swedish ships of war and privateers molested the British commerce, government determined to send a fleet into that sea, to chastise Charles, and to put a stop to the depredations of his cruisers. Sir John Norris was selected to command this fleet, and having hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland*, an eighty gun ship, he sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate and a sloop of war, besides a large fleet of merchantmen. On the

10th of June he arrived in the Sound; and as he was entrusted with powers to negotiate, he resolved to employ these, before he proceeded to hostilities. As the Swedish naval powers was in itself very contemptible, and was moreover opposed by the Russian, Dutch, and Danish fleets, Sir John entertained hopes, that the appearance of a British fleet in the Baltic, would dispose Charles to pacific measures. He, therefore, sent a messenger to Stockholm, with dispatches, representing the object that he had in view in coming to the Baltic. The British government did not wish to go to war with Sweden; but, at the same time, they were resolutely determined not to suffer their subjects and commerce to be molested by the Swedes in the Baltic. The answer of the Swedish court at first was evasive and prevaricating; Charles well knew that if he could prevent Sir John Norris from commencing hostilities, but for a very few months, the approach of winter would oblige him to quit the Baltic; but the British admiral perfectly aware of this circumstance and that this was most probably the cause of his receiving such a vague and evasive reply, insisted on a more decisive and categorical answer; at length Charles perceiving that he could no longer succeed in warding off hostilities, by the means he had hitherto adopted, ordered it to be signified to Sir John, that if he actually did join the Russian and Danish fleets, he would give immediate and peremptory orders, that all the British property in Sweden should be confiscated. To meet this threat, it was therefore necessary to adopt the most vigorous measures; and instructions being about the same time sent out to Sir John, no longer to suffer himself to be the dupe of Charles's prevarication and disingenuousness, he joined allied squadron.

As Peter the great had taken the command of his own fleet, it was agreed that he should possess the title of admiral of the whole united squadrons: the English ships

under Sir John, formed the van; the Danes the rear; and the merchant vessels navigating the Baltic, were placed under the protection of the Dutch. Charles perceiving that the allies were seriously bent on reducing him to equitable terms of peace, and that his fleet was by no means capable of coping with theirs, yet not being able to bring his stubborn and haughty mind to submission, had no other alternative but to shelter and protect his ships by the forts and batteries which defended his harbours: these were then deemed so strong, that the allies did not think it prudent to attempt their reduction. Thus the summer months passed away in inactivity: the British trade however was completely protected; and when the season arrived, during which it would have been imprudent for the larger vessels to have remained in the Baltic, Sir John sailed for England, leaving behind him, however, a small squadron for the future protection of commerce.

In 1717, it was again resolved by the British court to send a fleet into the Baltic; this year, however, it was placed under the command of Sir George Byng; but as there was reason to suppose that negotiations as well as fighting might be necessary, Sir John Norris was sent out, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Peter the great. It does not appear that he was selected for this purpose so much on account of his diplomatic skill, (though it was not probable that any considerable degree of this could be required) as from his having become a favorite of the Russian Emperor, while he commanded the British fleet in the Baltic. Peter, it is well known, was extremely partial to seafaring men; and the character of a British sailor, standing pre-eminent for personal courage and knowledge of his profession, was well calculated to excite his esteem, and gain his friendship. Nothing interesting or important occurred during this second expedition to the Baltic; nor had Sir John an opportunity of displaying his diplomatic skill in any delicate or difficult

negociations. Soon after his return to England, he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty : his appointment took place on the 19th of March, 1717-18, and he held this situation till the 19th of May, 1730. He had scarcely been a month in the Admiralty, before Charles XII. again discovered symptoms of hostility against Britain ; and as it was besides evident that his aim was to attack the British allies in the Baltic, a fleet was sent for the third time into that sea. Of this fleet, Sir John had the command : he hoisted his flag on board of the Cumberland, and sailed from the Nore on the 28th of April, with nine ships of the line, a fire-ship and a bomb-ketch. The Swedes on the appearance of the British fleet in the Baltic, had recourse to their usual method, of retiring to their harbours ; and the only duty, therefore, which Sir John had to perform, was that of protecting our commerce. In the month of November, he returned to England.

The next year he was destined to be employed in a different service : the British government, by the death of Charles, were freed from all apprehensions in that quarter ; but shortly afterward, Spain began to assume a warlike attitude, and as they as well as France were known to be well disposed to the cause of the Pretender, from the consideration, that by countenancing and supporting his cause, they could most seriously alarm, if not injure Great Britain, it was supposed that the Spanish armaments were intended to land him on our coasts. The apprehension of this, stimulated the British ministry to immediate and vigorous preparation ; a fleet was collected, and Sir John Norris was appointed to the command of it : the first object of this fleet was to intercept a Spanish squadron, which had under their protection the transports, destined to support the Pretender's cause. But the elements rendered the scheme of the Spanish government completely fruitless for, in the month of April, their

squadron were dispersed in a gale of wind, off Cape Finisterre, and obliged to return to port.

At this period, though Great Britain was exempt from any serious hostilities, yet she was almost constantly exposed to the apprehension of them; for it seemed as if a year could not pass over, without the necessity of warlike preparations. Scarcely was she free from the threatened Spanish invasion, before the Baltic again called for the presence and protection of her fleets. But the northern powers were now threatened by a more formidable enemy than Charles XII. It is foreign to the nature and object of a biographical work, to enter into a detail of the causes of this dispute; suffice it to say, that it originated with Peter the great, who seems to have entertained hopes of gaining an ascendancy over the councils of Sweden, on the death of his rival, Charles XII. These hopes having been disappointed, he brought forward some ridiculous charges against the Swedes, of having altered the form of their government. As the British ministry had opposed Charles, principally because he was hostile to the peace of the other northern powers, and interrupted the commerce of the Baltic; the same motives led them to oppose the schemes of the Russian monarch. For this purpose, Sir John Norris was sent into the Baltic, in the middle of June, with eight ships of the line. It seems to have been at first, intended, that his force should have consisted of thirteen ships of the line, besides frigates; but from some unexplained cause, probably, on account of some delay in the equipment, only eight sail were sent.

Peter the great having profited by his experience, while he was the ally of Great Britain, was so convinced of his total inability to cope with her naval force, that on the arrival of Sir John, he discontinued his ravages of the Swedish coast, and took refuge in the harbour of Revel. The instructions which Sir John had received from his court, were, in the first instance, to join the Swedish

fleet at Carlscroon, and then to endeavour to reconcile the differences between the Russian and Swedish monarchs: but though no actual hostilities took place, there was no disposition, on the part of Peter, to abstain from his designs, or give up his claims, in respect to Sweden. The summer thus passed on; the time arrived when it was necessary to quit the Baltic, and Sir John returned to England in the month of November, having, in his passage, stopped a short time at Copenhagen; where he employed himself in settling some trifling differences between that court, and the court of Stockholm.

In the spring of the following year, when the season arrived for sending the annual fleet into the Baltic, Sir John shifted his flag from the Cumberland, to the Sandwich, a ship of ninety guns; and in order, if possible, to bring the differences between the northern powers to a conclusion, a much larger fleet was placed under his command, than on any of the former occasions. Peter the great, still desirous of bringing his schemes respecting Sweden, to bear, but at the same time, seeing no disposition on the part of that court, to forward his views, declared in the most pointed terms, that unless the young Duke of Holstein, who had the hereditary right on his side, was called to the throne, Sweden should feel the full weight of his indignation and vengeance; while, on the other hand, if his proposal were acceded to, he would give his daughter in marriage to the young king, and at the same time, restore all the provinces which he had conquered from Charles. To these terms, the Swedish court refused to accede, and a British fleet was sent to protect them from the threatened consequences of this refusal. This it completely effected; for the menaces of Peter, before loud and violent, and actually proceeding towards their accomplishment, as soon as Sir John Norris entered the Baltic, were rendered feeble, and excited no alarm, even in the Swedes. As soon as the British ad-

miral had secured the coasts of Sweden from devastation and insult, he again directed his attention towards the final arrangement of a treaty between Denmark and Sweden; and in this he succeeded as well as in the former year he had, in preparing the way for it, by reconciling their differences. During all these expeditions to the Baltic, it is evident that Sir John had more opportunities of distinguishing himself, as a negociator, than as an admiral; and it is but doing justice to him, to remark, that in all his negotiations, he conducted himself with great good sense and prudence. It was, indeed, evident, both from his manners and his language, that he had more of the open and direct bluntness of the sailor, than of the intriguing spirit of the politician; but it is probable, that this bluntness was of great advantage to him, as it bespoke the confidence of those with whom he negotiated.

His stay in the Baltic this year, was too long delayed; for not returning home till the month of November, his fleet encountered a most violent storm; in which, the *Monck*, a fifty gun ship, was lost. Peter being still, to all appearance, bent on prosecuting his designs against Sweden, Sir John was again dispatched to the Baltic, with twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates: on his arrival, he joined the Swedish fleet, and the force of the united squadrons was sufficient, not only to protect the coasts of Sweden, but even to alarm the coasts of Russia. Peter, therefore, at length convinced, that Sweden, protected by Britain, was beyond the reach of his power, consented to accept the mediation of the latter, and peace was signed on the 31st of August.

We have already adverted to the character of a negociator, which Sir John successfully and creditably displayed, during his different expeditions to the Baltic; but he rendered himself essentially useful to his country, while thus employed in a different manner. Before his time, the navigation of the Baltic was very imperfectly understood

by British seamen; at least, as far as regarded those particulars respecting its navigation, which were of the most importance to British ships of war. As, therefore, Sir John had sufficient leisure and the best opportunities, he caused nautical surveys to be taken of the coasts; and made accurate observations respecting the different channels, currents, and prevalent winds; so that by his means, it has been remarked, that the navigation of this sea became as well known as the navigation of the Thames. When we reflect on the prodigious number of British shipping which actually enter the Baltic;—on the value and importance of these vessels, many of which are laden with naval stores;—on the natural difficulties attending the navigation of an inland and intricate sea, such as the Baltic; and that these difficulties are greatly increased, during one season of the year, by the violence of the winds to which it is exposed,—we shall be fully sensible of the obligations under which Sir John Norris has laid British seamen, by causing his officers to make an accurate draught of that sea.

In 1723, Sir John Norris was employed to convoy George I. from Helvoetsluys to England; and in 1727, for the last time, he was sent into the Baltic, the Czarina having given indications of a design to attack Sweden. The appearance of a British fleet produced the usual result; the Russian armaments retired to their ports, and Sweden was rendered secure.

In 1732, in consequence of its being found necessary to send a fleet to Lisbon, to protect our ally, the King of Portugal, from the designs of Spain, Sir John Norris was raised to the rank of admiral of the white, and sailed for that city. He was equally successful here, as he had been in the Baltic, in repressing hostilities by his mere presence; and the Portuguese no longer considered themselves in danger, when a British fleet rode in the Tagus. The disputes between the two courts being amicably ad-

justed, Sir John returned to England; and till the year 1739, was unemployed. In the spring of this year, he was appointed vice-admiral of Great Britain; and on the breaking out of the Spanish war, the command of twenty-one ships of the line was given to him: his instructions were to cruise in the bay of Biscay; but, in consequence of meeting with very tempestuous weather, the fleet could not get down Channel, and were at length compelled to return to port.

When the circumstances which gave rise to this Spanish war are considered;—the popular clamour and deceit, by which the minister was forced to embark in it; and the high expectations of victory and riches, with which a Spanish war always used to fill the minds, not only of our sailors, but of all the middling and lower classes of the people, we may well conceive the disappointment of the nation, when the formidable fleet of Sir John Norris returned to port, without even having seen the enemy. As the Spaniards were supposed not to be prepared for hostilities, no doubt was entertained in Britain, that their rich galleons would fall into the possession of the British admiral; or that the Spanish fleet would be destroyed. Under these feelings, neither the ministry nor Sir John escaped censure; but the censure was more pointedly and severely directed against the latter, when, in the subsequent year, he was equally unsuccessful: his fleet, on this occasion, consisted of sixteen sail of the line, with some frigates. His flag was hoisted on board the *Victory*; but it neither encountered, nor saw an enemy, during its cruise. While, however, the great majority of the nation were disposed to lay the principal part of the blame on Sir John Norris, some were of opinion, that his want of success, proceeded from private instructions. To this most unfounded and uncandid conclusion they were led, by the conviction, from former experience, that the admiral was destitute neither of zeal nor courage; and

hence they inferred, that by these he would have been prompted to distinguish himself, and serve his country, had he not been restrained by his private instructions : but these people were not more remarkable for want of candour, than for want of consistency or penetration; for to suppose that Sir John would have been restrained by private instructions from discharging his duty to his country, was a greater libel upon him, than if they had doubted his zeal or courage. The fact seems to have been, that both in this year and the preceding, the fleet entrusted to the command of Sir John was merely intended to distract and alarm the enemy, and had no precise object of capture or attack in view.

In 1743, he was appointed admiral of the fleet; but this year he does not appear to have gone to sea. In 1744, hostilities with France required the most vigorous preparations for defence on the part of the British ministry; the enemy had collected a large fleet in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of joining the Spaniards, and, at the same time, a formidable armament was equipping at Dunkirk. The object of this was soon known to be the invasion of Great Britain; and as this danger was nearer home, and consequently more alarming, a fleet of twenty-nine sail of the line was immediately collected, and the command of it given to Sir John Norris. On the 3d of February, the enemy's squadron entered the Channel; and on the 17th, it had reached as high as the isle of Wight. The French admiral had dispatched a light frigate to look into Spithead, and on her reporting that no fleet was lying there, he concluded that the same rough weather which had rendered his passage up the Channel so tedious, had obliged the English to return to port: but the fact was, that Sir John had sailed from the Downs on the 14th. The French admiral conceiving that he should now be able to pass through the Channel without molestation, dispatched part of his fleet to Dunkirk,

to hasten the embarkation of the troops; and on the 22d came to anchor with the remainder off Dungeness. On the 24th, Sir John having been reinforced by several ships from Chatham, stood round the Foreland. When his fleet was first descried by the enemy, they were utterly at a loss to make out what it was; but as soon as they ascertained it was Sir John's, their surprise and disappointment were inconceivable: being quite unprepared and unfit to cope with such a superior force, a council of war was immediately called, in which it was unanimously resolved, that their only alternative was to return to Brest. This they certainly would not have been able to effect, had not Sir John's usual ill luck followed him; for on the turn of the tide he was obliged to anchor within two leagues of the enemy; and when the tide again became favourable to him, a dead calm, which had hitherto prevented the French from getting under weigh, was succeeded by a strong wind, which carried them down the Channel. Sir John pursued them, but a thick fog arising off the isle of Portland, they eluded his vigilance, and got safe back to Brest. When he found that all hope of getting up with them was at an end, he returned to the Downs with the smaller line-of-battle ships, sending off the three-decker ships, under Sir Charles Hardy, to Portsmouth.

After this, he does not appear to have gone again to sea; indeed, age, infirmity, and nearly sixty years service, rendered him unfit for active employment. Charnock says, that he died on the 19th of July, 1749; but this is certainly a mistake, for in the Gentleman's Magazine, his death is said to have happened on the 13th of June; and in the notice of it, he is stated to have been the oldest commander in the navy. If farther confirmation of the mistake into which Charnock has unaccountably fallen was necessary, it might be drawn from the date of the appointment of Sir Chaloner Ogle and Lord

Anson, the former of whom was gazetted as his successor to the office of admiral and commander of the fleet on the 1st of July; and the latter was gazetted on the 4th of that month, as vice-admiral of Great Britain, and lieutenant of the Admiralty thereof, and also lieutenant of the navies and seas, in the room of Sir John Norris, knt.

The character of Sir John Norris does not present many features of prominent importance; indeed, he was never placed in those situations which either create or call forth character: of his zeal and patriotism, there can be no doubt; and as little of his courage and skill in his profession: he was, however, it must be allowed, unfortunate in many of his enterprises, and, perhaps more than any other commander of his time, had his ships lost or damaged by storms: hence the sailors, who are not only very superstitious, but very fond of giving nick-names to their officers, called him Foul-weather Jack. As has been already remarked, he had more opportunities of distinguishing himself in the character of a negociator, than in that of a naval commander; and in the former character, his talents were by no means despicable, or his services unimportant. He left two sons and a daughter: of these sons, as they engaged in a seafaring life, we shall conclude this article, by giving some particulars.

Richard, the-oldest, was introduced into the sea service very early in life by his father: on the 7th of October, 1735, he was appointed captain of the Gibraltar; but till the breaking out of the Spanish war, he had of course no opportunity of displaying his character or talents. When that event took place, he was removed from the Gibraltar to the Gloucester, a fifty gun ship, which was ordered to the South Seas, under Admiral Anson. On the arrival of the fleet at Madeira, Captain Norris complained that his health was in such a weak and precarious state, that he could not, without imminent danger, proceed on such a long and arduous voyage. In consequence of this repre-

sentation, Admiral Anson sent him home ; and soon after his return, he was appointed to the command of the *Argyle*, of fifty guns. His father's character, services, and interest, working strongly in his favour, he was appointed, in the beginning of 1741, to the command of the *Kingston*, of sixty guns ; and before the close of the year, to the *Essex*, a seventy gun ship. This vessel formed part of the reinforcement which was sent into the Mediterranean, under Admiral Lestock. When Admiral Matthews assumed the command of the fleet on this station, he sent Captain Norris to block up some Spanish gallies, which had taken refuge in the neutral port of St. Tropes. This enterprise required a considerable share of caution, so as not to trespass on the rights of neutrality ; and Captain Norris, on his part, seems to have conducted himself very properly ; but the Spaniards were not so scrupulous, for on the approach of the British, they fired upon them, and by thus violating the neutrality, placed themselves out of its protection. Captain Norris immediately sent a fire-ship amongst them, by which they were all destroyed.

In the disgraceful battle off Toulon, Captain Norris was engaged, and as his conduct was not censured in the account which Admiral Matthews sent home of this engagement, it was for some time supposed that he was free from censure : but some months afterwards, a dispute having arisen between him and one of his lieutenants, named Jekyll, the latter wrote to the Admiralty, complaining of his captain's tyrannical behaviour, and accusing him of cowardice on the 11th of February. It is said, that when the admiral received this letter, Captain Norris was with him, and that he immediately wrote home for leave to quit the service, under the idea that if he obtained leave, he would not be liable to be tried by a court martial. Leave was given him, and for the time, no notice seems to have been taken of Lieutenant Jekyll's

accusations: the pretext for neglecting to notice these serious accusations was, that they were brought forward at such a distance of time, and therefore appeared to be malicious. But Captain Norris soon perceived, that though he was not brought to trial, his situation was very uncomfortable; he was still in the fleet, but his society was shunned by the officers: in order, therefore, as he thought, again to render himself amenable to a court martial, he entered as a volunteer on board the Marlborough, and wrote to England for an order to be tried, to clear his character. In the mean time, Admiral Matthews had resigned the command of the Mediterranean fleet, and his successor was thought to be favourably disposed towards Captain Norris. Notwithstanding this circumstance, when the order for his trial was expected from England, his heart again failed him, and he obtained his discharge from the Marlborough, under the old impression that he would be no longer amenable to the court, and perhaps with an intention of acting as he should see his judges inclined, and his witnesses swear. At length, the order for his trial arrived, and notice was sent to him to prepare for it: the officers of the Essex gave notice that they were ready with their evidence against him. When the day came, some of the court gave it as their opinion, that as Captain Norris did not belong to the service, he could not be tried; and the order, though expressed in the usual form for holding court martials, having something ambiguous in it, they took a most extraordinary and illegal step; they resolved they would not try him, but only hear the complaints against him, and his defence, and send a report of them to the Admiralty; and instead of taking the usual oath, *to hear and determine*, another was imposed, *to hear and report the cause*, without giving any opinion concerning it.

After these strange proceedings, Mr. Jekyll was summoned, but he refused to be sworn as a witness, alleging

he was then in the character of prosecutor, and as such, he ought to call and examine the witnesses: to this the court would not consent; and Captain Norris was sent to, to know, whether since Jekyll refused to be sworn, he would have the enquiry go on: this was another instance of most strange behaviour. Captain Norris returned for answer, that he wished the court to proceed. The lieutenants and other officers of the *Essex*, who were witnesses against their captain, were examined first, and their evidence was strong and decisive: to rebut it, many of the common sailors were called, who swore, not only that their captain behaved well during the action, but that they did not hear any murmuring against him, either on that day, or for nearly two months afterwards, till he and his officers differed. The officers of the *Essex* perceiving that numbers were against them, wrote to the court to desire that they also might have liberty to summon witnesses: but this was refused; the officers of the *Marlborough* then offered to give evidence, but the court would not hear them.

The examination being ended, the whole proceedings of the court martial were transmitted to England, to be laid before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty; but as the court gave no opinion respecting the innocence or guilt of Captain Norris, the lords of the Admiralty had no other means of judging of the truth, but by the number of the witnesses, and the nature of the evidence for and against the captain. It appears, however, that they suspected that the court martial had not conducted itself properly, and that Captain Norris, if he had been tried in a legal and impartial manner, would, in all probability, have been found guilty; for they sent out orders for him to return to England: it is uncertain whether he did actually return, or whether he absconded from Port Mahon; if he did arrive in England, he certainly was not brought before a court martial there. All that is known respecting him

afterwards, is, that he passed the remainder of his life in obscurity, in a remote part of Scotland.

We have dwelt thus minutely on the circumstances of Captain Norris's trial in the Mediterranean, because they appear to us to have been extremely reprehensible, and, we should hope, singular, in our naval annals; and because they are not noticed by Charnock, nor, as far as our knowledge extends, by any other naval historian or biographer.

Harry Norris, the other son of Sir John Norris, entered early in life into the sea service: he is first noticed, as having been appointed to the command of a frigate of the smallest class, mounting twenty guns; from which he was removed in the year 1740, to be captain of the *Russell*. In the month of March, 1743, he was appointed to the command of the *Jersey*, a fourth rate, of sixty guns. In the following year, he was removed to the *Prince Frederic*, a third rate, of seventy guns. During the rebellion, he was employed on the home station, which seems to imply that he was considered as an active and vigilant officer; for, at this time, it was particularly necessary, by employing officers of this description, on the home station, to prevent supplies and reinforcements being sent to the Pretender. Captain Norris, however, though he may have succeeded, and fulfilled the object of his appointment, in this respect, was not fortunate enough to make any captures, or to fall in with any of the enemy's ships: nor does his name occur during the year 1745, except as a member of the court martial, which assembled in the month of January, for the trial of Commodore Griffin, and the captains under his command. In 1746, he still retained his station in the Channel, but some other vessels were ordered to cruise along with him: during this cruise, he gave chase to, and captured, a large and fast-sailing privateer, mounting twenty-two guns, belonging to St. Maloes. At the battle of Cape Finisterre, in which Admirals Anson and Warren defeated the French fleet, he

was present, still retaining the command of the *Prince Frederic*.

Just before the breaking out of the seven years war, Captain Norris was appointed to the command of the *Yarmouth*, of seventy guns, and was ordered to the North American station, for the purpose of reinforcing Admiral Boscawen. In this vessel, and on this station, he continued till June 1756, when he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the white; and, on the 31st of January, 1758, to be rear-admiral of the red: during the time he was rear-admiral of the white, he commanded one of the divisions of the grand fleet, which was stationed off Brest, in the year 1756. In the month of February, 1759, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; but except on the service we have just noticed, he never was employed as a flag officer. He was one of the members of the court martial on the trial of Admiral Byng. He died on the 13th June, 1764.

MEMOIRS OF SIR WILLIAM BERKLEY; CHARLES
AND JOHN, LORDS BERKLEY OF STRATTON;
THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM BERKLEY, AND
JAMES, EARL OF BERKLEY.

THERE is scarcely any of our noble families, whose names occur so often, or who are so distinguished in the naval annals of this country, for bravery, enterprise, and maritime skill, success and honours, as the ancient family of Berkley. On this account, we are tempted to deviate from our accustomed plan, and to bring together under one head, (notwithstanding the strict chronological arrangement of the biographical division of this work will be thus, in some degree, broken,) such of the family of Berkley, as have distinguished themselves in the maritime service of this country: these were, Sir William Berkley;

Charles and John, Lords Berkley of Stratton, in the county of Devonshire; the nephew of the two last, the Honourable William Berkeley; and James, Earl of Berkley. But before we begin the short, but glorious life of Sir William Berkley, it will be satisfactory and gratifying to our readers, to lay before them, some account of the antiquity and origin of this noble and illustrious family.

It is probable, that the ancestor of the Berkley family came into this country along with William the Conqueror; at least, it is certain, that in the reign of this monarch, there was a Roger de Berkley, who, according to the custom then prevalent, assumed his surname from Berkley, in Gloucestershire, the place of his residence and his property: this estate was possessed by his descendants for some time; but, on the failure of male heirs, the castle and honour of Berkley were granted by Henry II. to Robert Fitzharding, a man at that period of great power and interest: when he came into the possession of the estate, title, and honours of Berkley, he also assumed the surname: he is said to have been the son of one of the nobles who came over with William the Conqueror, and who, of course, was present with him at the battle of Hastings.

From Robert Fitzharding, thus distinguished and honoured by Henry II. and who was not inferior in the antiquity of his family, nor in the extent of his power and influence to the family of Berkley, Sir William Berkley was descended in a direct line. Sir William appears to have turned his thoughts and inclination to the sea service very early in life; and, as his family was always remarkable for its loyalty, and as we shall have afterwards occasion to mention more particularly, had suffered for its attachment to the royal cause, in the time of the rebellion, we may suppose, that the rise of Sir William, after he had entered the sea service, was not slow or difficult. In the year 1661, he was appointed lieutenant on board the

Swiftsure, the vessel that was afterwards destined to be the scene of his glorious death; during the subsequent year, he was removed from the Swiftsure to the Assistance; and very soon afterwards, he was appointed to the command of the Bonadventure. In this vessel he continued but a short time, being removed in 1663 to the Bristol; and, in 1664, he was again removed to the Resolution. Hitherto Sir William Berkley had possessed no opportunity of distinguishing himself for his bravery and resolution; for hitherto it had been peace; but there is good reason to believe, and, indeed, his subsequent career, though short, sufficiently proves, that even during the season of peace, he was zealously and habitually employed, as far as circumstances permitted or required, in gaining a thorough and systematic knowledge of the duties of his profession. In the year 1665, he was appointed to the command of his old ship, the Swiftsure; and, when he was only twenty-six years old, he was principally from his merit, and it may be, in some measure, from the interest and loyalty of his family, raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the red squadron, under the command of the Duke of York. So singular and distinguished an honour, at such a very early period of life, he was determined, the earliest opportunity, to prove, by his conduct, that he signally merited; and, in the first naval engagement that took place after the commencement of hostilities with the Dutch, he fought his ship with great skill and courage: after the defeat of the enemy, the English fleet returned into port; and then Sir William was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the white, under Sir William Penn; but as no second battle was fought this year, there is nothing memorable respecting him to be recorded. The French had now declared war against England; and there was too much reason to apprehend, that the latter would not be able to cope by sea, with two such powerful maritime opponents, as the Dutch and French united; the policy of

the English government, therefore, undoubtedly was to endeavour to prevent, by every means in her power, and especially by unremitted vigilance and activity, the junction of the hostile fleets; but it was evident, that unless the operations for this purpose were speedy and well concerted, they would be ineffectual. In one respect, England was greatly favoured in her war with the French and Dutch, and particularly so far as she was disposed to prevent the junction of their fleets, since, from her situation, she lay between them; yet this very circumstance, as has been well remarked by the most acute and philosophical of our historians, turned rather to the prejudice of this country, "by the unhappy conduct of their commanders, or the want of intelligence of her ministers." The French fleet, which was intended to act in conjunction with that of the Dutch, lay at Toulon, under the command of the Duke of Beaufort. Lewis XIV., immediately on the commencement of hostilities with England, ordered the duke to sail for this purpose: the fleet was composed of above forty sail. It was naturally imagined, that the French would enter the English Channel, in order to execute the commands and designs of their sovereign; the Dutch fleet, under the command of De Ruyter and Tromp, was already at sea, to the number of seventy-six sail, The English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail, was under the command of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle. Sir William Berkley, a short time before, had been made vice-admiral of the blue, under the command of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, and in his squadron, was ordered to lead the van of the fleet. The policy of the English, under the relative circumstances in which they and the enemy were placed, was sufficiently obvious; they should, with all their force, have attacked the Dutch separately, before they were joined by the French: of this opinion most decidedly was Sir George Ayscue, who was sufficiently well acquainted with the

skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals, particularly of Tromp, but his advice and remonstrance, unfortunately were of no effect. The Duke of Albemarle, flushed with the recollection of the victories he had won, in the time of Cromwell, and naturally of a sanguine temper and haughty disposition, resolved to detach Prince Rupert, with twenty ships, for the purpose of attacking the French: this resolution he carried into effect: and thus the English fleet, which, while entire, was nearly equal in numerical force to the Dutch, was rendered, by this obstinate and ill-advised measure, very much inferior to it; and even this inferiority was not compensated, by the circumstances, that the weakening of the main fleet, enabled the English admiral to send off a force nearly equal to that of the French. No sooner had the Duke of Albemarle dispatched Prince Rupert, that he determined to bring the Dutch to action; they, on their part, were not slow, or averse to fight, but immediately cut their cables, and prepared for battle, as the English fleet came on very quickly. The battle had not continued long, before Albemarle was sensible of the gross fault which he had committed, in weakening his fleet, by sending Prince Rupert against the French; however, he did all in his power to atone for his rashness by his valour. The circumstances of this famous battle have been already given: it is one of the most remarkable in history, not only on account of its duration, but of the desperate bravery with which it was fought by both parties.

Nearly at the conclusion of the first day's action, the Swiftsure was, along with two others, cut off from the line, and surrounded by the enemy; in this perilous situation, Sir William Berkley displayed a courage worthy of him; he fought his ship, not only in the most heroic and determined manner, but with as much skill as could possibly be brought to bear under these circumstances; but neither courage nor skill could avail him: he saw his

crew fall in great numbers, on all sides of him ; his vessel was a complete wreck, and totally unmanageable ; the enemy poured in their men ; obstinate contests took place on the deck of the *Swiftsure* ; and Sir William at length perceived, that his own fate, and the fate of his ship, was fast approaching : still he continued to fight, and though he was now left, almost alone, with his own hand, he killed several of the enemy. The Dutch, struck with awe and respect for his resolute bravery, offered him quarter ; but this he proudly rejected. Hitherto, he had almost miraculously escaped unhurt, but at last, a musket-ball struck him in the throat ; being sensible that his wound was mortal, he retired into his own cabin, “ where he was “ found dead, extended at his full length, on a table, and “ almost covered with his own blood.”

Thus fell Sir William Berkley, a man certainly not inferior in courage to any naval hero of the period in which he lived, and who, had his life been spared, would have raised his own fame still higher, and have proved the honour and support of his country. The Dutch, who had respected him while alive, embalmed his body, which, by the express orders of the states general, was deposited in the chapel of the great church at the Hague. As Sir William Berkley was well known to be a great favourite of his royal master, the Dutch sent a messenger to England, expressly to enquire of King Charles, how he wished the corpse to be disposed of ; at the same time, intimating, that they were induced to shew this attention and respect, on account of the noble family of Sir William Berkley, the high command which he held, and the valour that he had displayed during the action, which terminated his life.

Of Charles, Lord Berkley of Stratton, whose life we are next to narrate, the particulars are necessarily few, as he scarcely lived to complete his twentieth year. His father was Sir John Berkley, whose name occurs so often and with so much honour in the history of the civil wars : his

loyalty and attachment to the unfortunate Charles, were undoubted, active, and persevering; and the care of the royal cause, in the west of England, where the family estates lay, was entrusted to him: he did all that could be done by intrepidity, and by the exertion of the influence which he possessed: but the republican cause prevailing, Sir John went into exile with Charles II., and continued with him till his restoration. As a reward for his long and faithful services, the latter monarch created him a peer of Great Britain, by letters patent, dated at Brussels, on the 19th of May, 1658. The mother of Charles, Lord Berkley, was Christian daughter of Sir Andrew Piccard, president of the East India company. She was the widow of Henry, Lord Kensington, son of Henry, Earl of Holland. This family of the Berkleys were a collateral branch of the family to which Sir William Berkley belonged, and had passed out of Gloucestershire, the original seat of the Berkleys, to Devonshire, in which county, as has been already mentioned, they were fixed at Stratton. As Charles, Lord Berkley, at that period of his life, when it was necessary and proper for him to choose his profession, was abroad with his father in exile, he entered into the French army, in which he served as a volunteer, for two campaigns: he was sixteen years of age, when he returned along with his father and his sovereign to England, and was immediately appointed at first a guidon, and soon afterwards a lieutenant in his majesty's troop of horse guards. In this honourable but inactive service, he did not, however, continue long: he appears to have been a young man of great ambition, and his ambition to have been of that glorious and too rare kind, which looks for its gratification in benefitting its country, and for its reward in the applause bestowed on active and enterprising valour. A sea life seemed to him the best calculated to indulge his natural and cherished propensity; and he accordingly went to sea, in a subordinate capacity, in order

that he might qualify himself for the service of his king and country; he continued at sea, with little or no rank, for the space of two years; and as his talents were good, and his zeal prompted him to exert his talents to the utmost, he made great progress in the art of navigation, and returned, after having given such undoubted and repeated proofs of his skill in maritime affairs, as fully justified his sovereign in appointing him to the command of the *Tiger*; at this time, he was scarcely nineteen years of age, and we might be disposed to imagine, that interest, rather than merit, had raised him, thus early in life, so high in his profession, were there not unobjectionable evidence that he was as much superior in talent and experience to those of his own standing, as he was raised above them in rank. Not long after his appointment to the command of the *Tiger*, he was sent into the Mediterranean, for the purpose of chastising the insolence of the Sallee and Algier pirates, which at this time was very provoking and intolerable; he had not been on this service many months, before he fell ill of the small-pox, and died on the 6th of March, 1682, being then very little more than twenty years of age; his body having been embalmed, and brought to England, was buried with great pomp, at Twickenham.

John, Lord Berkley, of Stratton, was the second son of Sir John Berkley; and, on the death of his brother Charles, succeeded to the title and estates. It is not known when he first entered on a maritime life; but he was appointed first lieutenant of the *Bristol*, on the 14th of April, 1685, and raised to the command of the *Charles* galley, on the 9th of July in the following year. Soon after this promotion, he was sent into the Mediterranean, where he continued till the month of May, 1688; and on the 30th of August, in the same year, he was appointed captain of the *Montague*: in her he did not continue more than three months; for the Earl of Dartmouth, having been ordered to fit out a fleet, to oppose the landing of the

Prince of Orange, that nobleman gave Lord Berkley the command of the Edgar.

The family of the Berkleys, as has been already observed, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to Charles I. during the rebellion, and to Charles II. during his exile. This loyalty Lord John Berkley inherited from his father; but it was in him inferior in its influence and operation to his love for his country; and probably also, as an officer, he considered it his duty not to interfere in political disputes, or in the discussion of political questions, but to confine himself to the support and protection of that sovereign which his country chose; at least, it is certain, that while James II. continued his legal sovereign, he received from him every mark of obedience and loyalty; nor did Lord Berkley incur suspicion, or suffer in his professional career, on this account. On the contrary, it being well known that his patriotism was pure, and that he was influenced solely by a sincere zeal for his country's well being, he was, soon after the landing of the Prince of Orange, appointed rear-admiral in the fleet, under the command of the Earl of Dartmouth. The compliment thus paid to his integrity will be best understood, when we reflect, that at this time there was a very general and well-founded distrust of all who had not been open and active in favour of King William; but not the slightest shade of this distrust fell on Lord Berkley; he had been loyal to King James, while his country acknowledged him as their sovereign, and while he performed the duties of a sovereign; and he was determined to be equally loyal to King William, now that the voice of the country had called him to the throne. But Lord Berkley was exposed to calumny of another kind; this transference of his allegiance, especially when the attachment of his father to the cause of the unfortunate Charles was recollected, drew upon him the rancour of the partizans of James. Such, however, was the good sense,

moderation, and prudence of his conduct, that even their vigilant and penetrating ill-will towards him could not detect any cause for censure, except the single circumstance of his having deserted the exiled monarch. The merit of Lord Berkley must be allowed to have been very rare and commendable, in thus being able to remove the suspicions of King William, and to escape the censure of the followers of James.

The time was soon to arrive, which was to put the sincerity and steadiness of Lord Berkley's attachment to his new sovereign to the proof. In the month of April, 1689, a French fleet sailed for Ireland, to support the landing of King James; in the beginning of May, a battle took place, near Bantry bay, between this fleet and that of Admiral Herbert; and on the 17th of the same month, war was formally declared against France. The naval armaments of Lewis XIV. were on this occasion very great and formidable; particularly the fleet which was under the command of the Count de Tourville. To oppose this fleet, the Earl of Torrington was sent out with thirty-four English men-of-war, and twenty-two Dutch: in this combined squadron Lord Berkley served as rear-admiral of the red. On the approach of winter, the Earl of Torrington judged it prudent to send the larger ships into port; but in order to watch the motions and intentions of the enemy, he at the same time ordered Lord Berkley, with a strong squadron, to cruise at the entrance of the Channel. On this service, which required activity and vigilance, he distinguished himself greatly, keeping at sea till the middle of January in the following year, except when he found it absolutely necessary to put for a short time into Plymouth, in order to recruit his stock of water and provisions. From the period that he returned to Spithead, there is no account of his having been employed on active service, till the 8th of February, 1692-3,

when he was first promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, and very shortly afterwards to that of vice-admiral of the red. While he held these ranks, he hoisted his flag at first on board the Neptune, a ninety gun ship, and then on board the Victory, a first rate: his promotion now went on rapidly, for on the death of Sir John Ashley, on the 12th of July, 1693, he was made admiral of the blue. This year is certainly not among the most fortunate or splendid in the naval annals of Great Britain; but it is much to the credit and honour of Lord Berkley, that though he was actively employed under Admirals Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel, not the slightest imputation of misconduct has been thrown upon him.

Early in 1694, the grand fleet was commanded by Admiral Russell, under whom Lord Berkley, who had hoisted his flag on board the Queen, served. On the 3d of May the admiral sailed from St. Helen's, leaving Sir Cloudesley Shovel to superintend the embarkation of the land forces which were destined to act against Brest. During this cruise, nothing of importance occurred; and on the admiral's return to St. Helen's, the troops being all on board, under the command of General Tollemache, the whole fleet sailed on the 29th of May. That part of it which was to co-operate with the land forces in the projected attack on Brest, was commanded by Lord Berkley: his force consisted of twenty-nine English and Dutch men-of-war, besides frigates, fire-ships, &c. On the 7th of June, the fleet stood into Camaret bay, but owing, it is said, to the treachery of some persons in England, the enemy were apprised of the meditated attack, and had assembled a very numerous force, as well as greatly strengthened their fortifications. As soon as the English fleet was descried, the whole country was alarmed by the firing of guns, and the display of night signals; and the bombs from the several batteries round the bay began to

play against it. Early in the morning of the 8th, the bay and the force of the enemy having been reconnoitred, the Marquis of Carmarthen was dispatched with seven men-of-war to the bottom of it, (where it was intended to land the troops,) for the purpose of silencing a fort and two batteries which lay on its west side. Under the cover and protection of these ships, General Tollemache landed his troops; but the French, safely and strongly entrenched behind their works, opened such a tremendous and destructive fire, that he gave orders for his men to regain the boats as quickly as possible. While he was directing and superintending the re-embarkation, he was wounded in the thigh; the wound afterwards proved mortal. Lord Berkley witnessed the unfortunate termination of this enterprise with unavailing sorrow, and being convinced that it would be the extreme of folly and rashness to renew the attempt, he left the coast of France, and arrived at St. Helen's on the 15th of June.

He had scarcely recruited his stock of ammunition and provisions, when he was commanded to assemble a council of war, to deliberate upon the part of the enemy's coast which should be next attacked. It might have been supposed that the enemy would be too much on their guard, to render a second attempt at all adviseable; but the council judging otherwise, an expedition against Dieppe and Havre-de-grace was resolved upon. On the 12th of July the bombardment of Dieppe commenced, and during the night, above one thousand one hundred bombs and carcasses were thrown into the town with very considerable effect; it was set on fire in several places, and continued in flames during the whole of the 13th. An attempt was also made to destroy the pier, by means of one of the machines called infernals; but from the circumstance of several vessels laden with stores being sunk before it, the pier was not damaged.

These infernals were first used at the siege of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma, in the year 1585, for the destruction of the bridge over the Scheldt; but they seem to have been improved, a short time before Lord Berkley's attack on Dieppe, by one Meesters, a German: they were fire-ships, constructed in such a manner, as to blow up when moored close to the walls of a town; one hundred barrels of gunpowder were placed at the bottom of the hold, which were covered over with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; above these, beams were ranged, bored through, in order to give air to the fire; and upon these, three hundred carcasses, filled with grenades, chain shot, iron bullets, loaded pistols, broken glass, &c. were laid. That the flames might have vent, there were several holes or mouths constructed. In the attack on Dieppe, these infernals were not of much use. On the 14th, nearly the whole town of Dieppe having been reduced to ashes, Lord Berkley sailed for Havre-de-grace: his first object was to sound the harbour, and along with the persons employed on this occasion, the commander of the land forces sent some engineers to observe the nature and strength of the fortifications. In the course of four hours after the bombs began to play, the town was on fire in several places. The enemy, on their side, fired a great many bombs and shot, but most of them went over the English vessels; one, however, unfortunately fell on the Grenada bomb-ketch, which blew up. During the attack, Lord Berkley rowed about in his pinnace, encouraging the men; and was on board one of the bomb-vessels, called the Firedrake, at the very time the Grenada blew up near her.

On the 26th of July, Lord Berkley returned to Portsmouth, where his fleet was refitted. As soon as it was again fit for sea, it sailed for the Downs, while his lordship repaired to London; and a consultation was held

respecting the place which might be next attacked with the greatest probability of a successful issue. As the season of the year was judged to be too far advanced, to make an attempt against Dunkirk, Calais was fixed upon; and Lord Berkley was ordered to command the expedition. On the 19th of August he accordingly sailed from the Downs; but in consequence, first, of contrary winds, and afterwards of tempestuous weather, he was obliged to return thither the same evening. The pilots and engineers were again consulted respecting the practicability of the attack, and coinciding in opinion that the season was too far advanced, Lord Berkley having resigned the command of the fleet to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, came to London on the 27th of August.

On the 12th of June, in the following year, his lordship hoisted his flag on board the Shrewsbury, which was then lying at Portsmouth; and four days afterwards, he was joined by a squadron of Dutch ships, with some bomb-ketches. Notwithstanding the previous attacks on the French coast had not been signally successful, and had cost a considerable sum of money, it was resolved to renew them this year, and to give the command again to Lord Berkley. St. Maloes was the place now fixed upon, and on the 4th of July the English squadron anchored before it; previously, however, to making an attempt against the town, it was judged necessary to bombard a fort to the westward. The particulars of this bombardment, and of the subsequent attacks on St. Maloes and Granville, have been already detailed with sufficient minuteness; it is therefore merely necessary to state, that Lord Berkley having executed his orders as perfectly as the means in his power, and other circumstances would admit, resolved, before he returned to England, to spread alarm along the coast of France. With this view, on the 10th of July, he sailed from Guernsey road, and though he did not effect any thing of importance, yet he completely

succeeded in distracting the attention, and dividing and harassing the forces of the enemy. On the 12th he returned to Spithead, and as this mode of warfare seems now to have become popular, he was not long permitted to remain unemployed: troops were immediately embarked, the infernal machines prepared, and Mr. Meesters himself was ordered to superintend the management of them. The particulars of this attack against Dunkirk have been already given; the cause of its failure is justly ascribed, by Campbell and other authors, to the want of skill in Meesters, and to a misunderstanding between him and some of the sea officers. This failure in an object on which the nation very generally and too sanguinely had fixed their expectations of success, especially as Dunkirk had before witnessed the ill fortune of the English, gave rise to much accusation; but so convinced were all parties that Lord Berkley had done all that lay in his power, that he was never selected as one of the culpable persons. He was, however, chagrined at the failure, and resolved, before he returned to England, if possible, to efface the reproach and disgrace of it by an attack upon Calais: in this attack he was as completely successful as he could expect, and the success was not counterbalanced by any severe loss on our side. By the time the bombardment of Calais was finished, it was the middle of August, and consequently it was not judged prudent to continue on the enemy's coasts any longer. Lord Berkley therefore returned to the Downs, and on the 18th of that month, having again given up the command to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, he struck his flag, and went ashore at Dover.

He did not, however, continue long unemployed: the hostility of the French monarch against England was uncommonly active and unintermitted: he, probably, entertained great hopes that he should be able to effect an invasion; and in the state in which this country was at that time, an invasion, most probably, would have ter-

minated in the re-establishment of James, and thus, virtually, in the annexation of the British dominions to the crown of France. Even though Louis XIV. notwithstanding his ambition and vanity flattered him that he was invincible, might not be carried so far by them, as to believe that the conquest of this country was practicable; yet he well knew, that by menacing it, he should be able to keep it in a constant state of alarm; while, at the same time, the attachment and hopes of the partizans of James would be preserved alive and vigorous. Under either of these views and hopes, therefore, it was politic in him, to assemble a large armament, equipped in such a manner, and at those places, which could leave no doubt that it was intended to act against England. This armament was assembled early in the spring of 1696: it consisted of seventeen large ships of war; five hundred transports, on board of which, nearly twenty thousand soldiers, and every thing requisite to facilitate embarkation; and if that could be effected, subsequent success. The whole was under the command of the Marquis de Nesmond, and the celebrated Du Bart. King William, aware of the infinite necessity of preventing this mighty armament, if possible, even from leaving its own shores, and thus convincing the world, that however formidable and successful the French monarch might be by land, England was still mistress of the ocean, gave orders that a large fleet should be assembled, consisting of English and Dutch ships, and placed it under the command of Admiral Russell, Lord Berkley, Vice-admiral Aylmer, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. So great was the expedition employed in equipping this fleet, which amounted to fifty ships of the line, that it was ready for sea early in the month of February. The French were not only astonished and disappointed at the celerity with which it was equipped, but also at the force that was collected; for they evidently had calculated, on being able to sail, before England could assemble any force; or

if that, from unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances, did not happen, they entertained no doubt, that they should not be opposed in their passage to England, by any force at all equal to cope with their own.

As it was clear that the first objects of the enemy would be to collect at one place their numerous armaments, which were scattered in the different ports between Dunkirk and Boulogne, and to strengthen their Brest fleet by the junction of their fleet from Toulon, the English squadron formed a complete and uninterrupted blockade, from Dunkirk to Boulogne. As soon as the French perceived this large force, thus threatening their coasts, they gave up all thoughts of an invasion, and contented themselves with endeavouring to secure the transports that had been collected for this purpose, from falling into our possession. Their preparations being thus rendered useless, in the month of May, Lord Berkley, as admiral of the blue squadron, sailed along with Sir George Rooke, who now commanded the grand fleet, in order to intercept the Toulon squadron. In this subordinate capacity he continued till Sir George was summoned to attend his duty, as one of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, when he was left admiral of the fleet, and the privilege was granted him of wearing the union flag, which he accordingly hoisted on board the *Britannia*. His lordship was not a man to be long idle and useless to his country; neither his natural disposition, his habits, nor his principles, would permit him to remain inactive; at the same time, he was not a man to act rashly and unadvisedly, nor who thought, because activity in an officer was commendable, that it was a matter of inferior moment to what object it was directed, or what were the means that it employed. Although the French appeared to have given up all intention of attempting to invade this country, yet they had in different bays and harbours opposite to England, a considerable number of ships of war, and

transports: in Camaret bay, nearly seventy vessels of different force and description were lying; and before Sir George Rooke quitted the command of the fleet, it had been debated, in council, whether these vessels should be attacked. This scheme, however, was given up, and it was therefore necessary to determine in what manner the English fleet should be employed: the result was, that if intelligence were not received that the enemy were disarming their ships, the fleet should stand over to the coast of France. It was not expected that they should be able to destroy the enemy's vessels, but they certainly would retard their equipment, prevent their junction, distract the measures of the French government, and alarm the inhabitants.

As soon as this scheme was fixed upon, Lord Berkley proceeded to put it into execution; but he was delayed, in consequence of contrary winds, which opposed his passage down Channel, and obliged him to put into Torbay, about the end of June: as soon, however, as the wind permitted, he sailed again, and on the 30th of the month, the fleet arrived in Camaret bay. The next day, the Marquis de Nesmond, ignorant of the presence of the English on the French coast, stood out to sea, with a fleet of merchantmen under his protection: as he had only five sail of the line, on the approach of Lord Berkley, he crowded all sail, and thought himself fortunate in getting safe back to port. A few days afterwards, a detachment of troops was landed, and ordered to attack the island of Grouais, one of the Cardinals, while another detachment was sent to bombard St. Martin's, in the isle of Rhè. These enterprises were completely successful; but by this time, the stock of provisions in the fleet had run low, and several of the Dutch ships having been detached to Holland, it was resolved not to attempt any thing farther. Before, however, Lord Berkley returned to England, he alarmed a large extent of the French coast: on the 20th

of July the fleet arrived in Torbay, and on the 31st of August, his lordship, in consequence of his instructions from the board of Admiralty, repaired to Spithead.

Campbell very justly finds fault with Mr. Burchett for calling Lord Berkley's exploits, *little enterprises*: they were, no doubt, little enterprises, in the strict and literal acceptance of the term; but they were intended to be little enterprises: the object in view did not call for, or admit of great enterprises: the French durst not put to sea with the armament with which they threatened to invade this country; but many of the vessels destined for this armament, were still kept in a state of preparation and equipment. The object of Lord Berkley's expeditions, therefore, was to prevent the enemy from resuming their intention of invading England; and by alarming their coasts, to put them under the necessity of providing for their own defence and security. That this was a politic, wise, and justifiable object, there can be no doubt: in fact, if it were wise in the French to alarm us with the threats and appearance of invasion, it was certainly wise on our parts, not merely to destroy those fears, by blocking up their ports and keeping the superiority at sea, but also to stir up similar fears in them, by hovering on their coasts. That they were apprehensive we should be able to do them considerable mischief, is sufficiently evident, from the circumstance, that between Brest and Goulet there were forty batteries on one side, and twenty-five on the other; that, on these batteries there were nineteen mortars, and four hundred and eighty-nine pieces of cannon; and that sixty thousand troops were collected on the coasts, to prevent our landing. Most assuredly, an expedition which rendered these things necessary, on the part of the enemy, cannot justly be called a little enterprise.

Having thus enquired into the wisdom and expediency of the plan of the expedition, it may be proper to say a

few words respecting the manner in which it was executed by Lord Berkley. If we have not formed an erroneous and imperfect estimate of his character, his talents and habits, as well as his experience were admirably calculated for enterprises of this nature. It may be that thus, we shall not leave on the minds of our readers, a very high impression of his abilities; but his abilities, though undoubtedly by no means of the rarest kind, and highest order, were extremely useful, because easily brought into action, and frequently required, in naval enterprises. On the occasion to which we are now more particularly and directly alluding, he was indefatigable, and persevering; keenly and scrupulously attentive to little things; and upon such kind of attention, success mainly depended. He was constantly on the watch to take advantage of any favourable circumstances that occurred: habitually alert and active; and in short, during the whole of these little enterprises, he managed them in such a manner, as to display very laudable skill and conduct. As, from what we have already stated, their policy and expediency were undoubted, certainly, since they were to be carried into execution, they could not have been entrusted to a more proper person than Lord Berkley.

As, at this time, it was not customary for the large ships to continue at sea, during the winter, soon after Lord Berkley repaired to Spithead, they were ordered into port to be refitted. Before, however, the season arrived when they were again to put to sea, his lordship was attacked with a violent and obstinate pleurisy, which put a period to his existence, on the 27th of February, 1696-7. At the period of his death, he was admiral of the fleet; colonel of the 2d regiment of marines; groom of the stole to his royal highness Prince George, and first gentleman of his bed chamber. He married Jane, daughter of Sir John Temple, of East Sheen, in the county of

Surrey, by whom he had only one child, a daughter, who died in her infancy.

In reviewing the life of Lord Berkley, the circumstance that first and principally strikes us, is that, at so very early a period of his life, he attained so high a rank in the naval service. We have already remarked that this early and rapid rise cannot justly be attributed entirely, or even, mainly to his influence and station: candour and justice require us to look for the cause, in some measure, at least, in his early advancement in the knowledge and experience of his profession:—Charnock remarks that there is scarcely an instance in the annals of naval history of any officer's attaining so high a rank at so early an age; since, at the time of his death, he was not more than thirty-four years old, and for the last eight, he had borne the office of admiral. But it is not only evident that merit principally, if not entirely, elevated him thus early; the most minute and scrupulous examination of his professional life, after he was entrusted with command, must convince us that he deserved the honours and rank which were thus signally bestowed upon him. It is remarked by the author, whom we have just quoted, that while Lord Berkley was employed, "miscarriages were frequent, and "the undeserved reproach often attached to them excessive;" and yet he passed through his professional life untouched by censure. It may, therefore, be useful as well as interesting to enquire, to what talents and disposition of mind he was indebted for this freedom from reproach, for this unblemished professional reputation. In the remarks which we have already offered on the conduct of the last expedition, in which Lord Berkley was engaged, we have touched upon some of the features of his mind and character: his talents, as we there observed, were not of the rarest kind, or highest order; and probably this circumstance may have sheltered him, in some

degree, from the envy and censure to which more elevated talents are necessarily exposed. But another circumstance ought not to be neglected, as certainly conducing to the same end: not only were his talents, from their mediocrity, unexposed to envy and censure; but he bore them meekly. He does not seem to have been forward, obtrusive, or overbearing. When these things are considered, and when it is also taken into the account, that his services, though necessary and useful, were of a limited kind and humble character, we shall not be surprised that he passed through his professional life, untouched by envy or censure. It has been already remarked, that for such expeditions as he was generally employed to conduct and execute, perhaps no man could have been found better qualified. It ought also to be stated, in order to do complete justice to his character, that these services were of a particular nature, almost new in practice, and, previous to his time, little understood. This circumstance will not only place his merit on its proper foundation, but it will supply a fair and satisfactory excuse for the want of success, which attended the first expedition in which he was engaged: that the want of success did not proceed, in the remotest manner, or slightest degree, from any inattention on the part of Lord Berkley, was amply and honourably testified by the Marquis of Carmarthen, who, in his account of the expedition, paid him the highest compliments, not only for the arrangements he made, but also for the ability with which he conducted the service.

Of his personal bravery there can be no doubt: “among
“ the foremost in the hour of danger, he encouraged
“ those, whom he was sent to command, by his example.
“ He had, on every occasion, the happiness of effecting
“ all that fortitude, joined to prudence and ability, could
“ possibly hope for; and died with the just reputation of
“ a brave, experienced, and a great commander, at an
“ age when few have had sufficient experience or op-

“portunity to acquire the smallest reputation and celebrity.”

The next of the family of Berkley, who engaged in the sea service, of whom we shall take notice, will not detain us long, as he died of a very early age; and we are induced to narrate the few and unimportant incidents of his short existence, only because we shall thus render the history of the Berkley family, so far as they are connected with the naval history of Britain, more complete.

The honourable William Berkley was the second son of the right honourable William Lord Berkley of Stratton, and Frances, his wife, daughter of Sir John Temple of East Sheen, in the county of Surrey: he was consequently nephew, both by his father and mother's side, to Lord John Berkley of Stratton, Lord John having married, as has been already noticed in his life, Jane, another daughter of Sir John Temple's; and he was nephew, by his father's side, to Charles, Lord Berkley of Stratton. We are not informed of the motives which induced him to prefer the sea service, though it is not improbable that the example and fame of his uncles operated on his mind and inclinations: nor are we informed at what period of his life he first went into this service. He appears, however, to have risen as high as the early age at which he died would admit, with considerable rapidity; for on the 11th of December, 1727, having, according to Charnock, “served a sufficient time in the several subordinate stations, and acquired a proper and adequate knowledge of the duties of his profession, so as to enable him to fill it with credit to himself and advantage to his country, he was appointed captain of the *Superbe*.” from this vessel he was very soon afterwards transferred to the *Rippon*. The shortness of his life, and the almost uninterrupted peace, with which Europe was blessed at this period, deprived him of any opportunity of decisively and gloriously proving himself worthy of the family from

which he was sprung, or emulous of the naval fame of his uncles. In the year 1732, he was appointed to the command of the *Tiger*, and in this vessel he was ordered to the coast of Guinea: his directions were, after having performed the service for which he was sent to this coast, to proceed to Barbadoes: he did reach Guinea, but on his passage from Rome to the West Indies, he died at sea, on the 25th of March, 1733.

The last of the family of the Berkleys, the historical memoirs of whom we shall lay before our readers, affords more ample and connected materials for biography; and if the circumstances of his life are studied with proper attention, they will conduce, in no trifling degree, to confirm the opinion, that, in this country, although high rank, interest, and particularly parliamentary connection may, too frequently, perhaps, for the good of the country, exalt persons to civil, naval, or military situations, for which they are by no means adequately qualified; yet such cases occur less frequently in this country than in most others; and in most of them, if we examine nearly and accurately, we shall be convinced, that what prejudice or ignorance ascribed solely to interest and favour, was, in some degree, at least, the result of merit and talents.

James, Earl of Berkley, was the direct and lineal descendant of Robert Fitzharding, of whom we have already taken notice, as having, in the time of Henry II. succeeded to the honour and estates, and assumed the name and arms of Berkley. The subject of our present memoir, therefore, was the representative of the original, ancient, and honourable stock of which, Charles and John, Lords Berkley of Stratton, and the honourable William Berkley, were the collateral descendants. His grandfather George, was the lineal descendant in the twelfth generation, from Maurice Fitzharding, the son of Robert Fitzharding: and on account of the loyal and unshaken

attachment of the family to Charles I. and Charles II.; the latter monarch, in the year 1679, created him Earl of Berkley. He very early displayed a strong fondness for a naval life; and this predilection not being opposed, he received an education necessary and proper to qualify him for it. Soon after he entered on this profession, which appears to have been shortly after the revolution, he had an opportunity of proving that his education was seconded by respectable naval talents. This circumstance, joined to the rank and interest of his family, rendered his promotion regular, easy, and certain; and on the 2d of April, 1701, he was appointed captain of the *Sorlings*. In this vessel he seems to have continued, till a short time after Queen Anne ascended the throne, when he was promoted to the command of the *Litchfield*, a fifty gun ship, forming part of the fleet under Sir George Rooke. By this admiral he was ordered to cruise in soundings. During this cruise he was uncommonly active in clearing the Channel of the enemy; and on the whole was rather fortunate, for he fell in with a French ship-of-war, mounting thirty-six guns, with which he commenced a smart engagement. From the superiority of the *Litchfield*, as well as from the skilful and judicious manner in which she was manœuvred and fought, the action was not of long continuance; it ended in the capture of the enemy, which was sent into Spithead. Continuing his cruise, he soon afterwards fell in with and captured a large homeward bound French West Indiaman, from Martinique; this vessel mounted twenty guns, and was a very valuable prize, being worth nearly forty thousand pounds.

We next find the subject of this memoir in the Mediterranean, in the fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel: the object of this expedition was the relief of the Cevenois; and as it has been already noticed, it need not detain us in this place. Soon after his return from the Mediterranean, he was employed on a cruise in

company with Captain, afterwards Sir John Norris, who then commanded the Warspite: the subject of this memoir was still in the Litchfield. In the month of November, near the entrance of the Channel, they gave chase to a large vessel, which, from her make and general appearance, they suspected to be an enemy. On coming up with her, she was ascertained to be a French ship-of-war, mounting fifty-two guns: notwithstanding the great disparity of force, the French vessel made a most resolute and determined resistance; nor did she yield, till after all her masts and rigging were completely cut up, and she had sustained a running fight of nearly nine hours. She was called the Hazard, and had on board, at the beginning of the action, four hundred men.

He continued to command the Litchfield till the beginning of the year 1704, when he was removed to the Boyne, an eighty gun ship. Soon after his promotion, he was called up to the House of Peers by writ on the 7th of March, by the title of Lord Dursley. He had scarcely, however, taken his seat, before the Boyne was ordered to form one of the fleet that was to be dispatched, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, into the Mediterranean, for the purpose of reinforcing Sir George Rooke. On this station Lord Dursley had a signal opportunity to distinguish himself, and to prove that he had not been honoured with such rapid promotion solely on account of his rank, connection, or interest; for at the memorable battle of Malaga, he was one of the seconds of Sir John Leake, and fought the Boyne with the utmost steadiness, perseverance, and skill: no ship in the whole squadron suffered more, with the single exception of the admiral's, for sixty-nine of her crew were either killed or desperately wounded. At this period it should be recollected, that Lord Dursley was not more than twenty-three years of age; yet on this occasion he fully merits the commendation bestowed upon him by Lediard. "Among the actions of other brave command-

“ers, we must not forget those of the gallant Lord
“Dursley, commander of the *Boyne*, an eighty gun ship,
“who, though then but about twenty-three years of age,
“gave many memorable instances of his undaunted cou-
“rage, steady resolution, and prudent conduct.”

In the year 1706 he was again in the Mediterranean, under his old commander, Sir Cloudesley Shovel: but at this period he was captain of the *St. George*, a second rate. On this station he continued during 1706 and 1707, and was distinguished for his activity and success on every occasion; particularly at the siege of Toulon. This city was invested by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to sail thither, for the purpose of assisting them in the siege: before he could do this effectually, it was judged necessary to capture or destroy three forts, which were erected on one of the Hieres isles; on this enterprise Lord Dursley was sent, and having anchored his ship before the island, he took the strongest fort by surprise, and summoning the two others, they surrendered at discretion.

He continued in the Mediterranean till the month of October, when he returned along with Sir Cloudesley Shovel; but he was so fortunate as to escape, almost by a miracle, the melancholy fate of his brave commander; for the *St. George* actually struck upon the same ridge of rocks with the *Association*, Sir Cloudesley's ship; but the very wave which beat to pieces the latter vessel, floated off the *St. George*. Perhaps, in the varied and extraordinary instances of escape from imminent, and, to all appearance, certain destruction, which naval history, more than any other, presents to our view, there is not one more striking and providential than this; for in it we see the very same cause acting at the very same moment, saving and destroying. It may well be remarked, that if the power, the wisdom, and the benevolence and protecting influence of the Creator are to be studied in

the most impressive and instructive manner, they ought to be studied in the wonderful preservation from maritime destruction, with which we are furnished in all ages, and by the history of all nations: and yet how thoughtless of Providence is the seaman; the impression on his mind immediately after he has been saved from death, may be lively and sincere, but how seldom; indeed, is it permanent and influential.

At the age of twenty-seven, Lord Dursley was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue; this promotion took place on the 26th of January, 1707-8. It has been justly remarked that it is singular, not only that this should be the first appointment in that rank which he ever received, but also that he should have been advanced to it at so very early an age. As soon as he was promoted, he hoisted his flag on board the *Berwick*, a seventy-four gun ship, and was ordered to put himself under the command of Sir George Byng. The cause of this armament has been already noticed in the life of Sir George; the French meditated the design of invading the northern parts of this island, for the purpose of supporting the cause of the Pretender. To frustrate this scheme, the fleet under Sir George was sent into the north sea; and though it did not succeed in coming up with and capturing the vessels of the enemy, it most effectually prevented him from landing his forces in Scotland.

When Sir George Byng returned from this expedition, the greatest part of his fleet were ordered into port; but Lord Dursley was appointed to command a squadron, for the purpose of cruising in soundings. His orders and object were not so much to sail in quest of the enemy, as to escort such homeward bound ships as he fell in with into port, and to take under his protection all the outward bound fleets, till they reached a latitude which he deemed secure. In this useful employment there was more occasion for regularity, attention, and care, than for any other

qualities; and, perhaps, on such employments the real merit of a commander is well and fully tried; for he has no inducement to the discharge of his duty, but a sense of what he owes to his country, and a feeling of obedience: there is no call for active exertion, or the display of bravery; no hope of enriching himself by valuable captures, or of acquiring promotion or fame. After he had been thus employed, cruising in soundings, scarcely ever going into port for nearly three months, he descried, on the 26th of June, three French ships of war, mounting from forty to fifty guns each. Chace was immediately given, but Lord Dursley had soon the mortification to perceive that his own squadron sailed very ill, in consequence of their having become exceedingly foul, from being so long at sea: while, on the contrary, the ships of the enemy having just left port, and being perfectly clean, sailed remarkably well; he was therefore under the painful and disagreeable necessity of giving up the chase, compelling, however, the Frenchmen to return to their own coast, in order to protect themselves.

On the following month of July, having returned to port, his vessel was ordered to form one of the fleet of Sir George Byng: this fleet was destined to alarm the French coast with the threat and appearance of invasion; but the principal and most important object was, to compel the French to weaken their army in Flanders, in order to protect their own coasts, and thus enable the Duke of Marlborough to prosecute the siege of Lisle unmolested. In the life of Sir George Byng, the particular circumstances and the general result of this expedition to the coast of France has been noticed; it certainly succeeded in its main object. As soon as this was effected, Lord Dursley left the fleet, having hoisted his flag on board the *Orford*, of seventy guns; he took along with him six other ships of the line, and several frigates: his orders were to resume his station in soundings, and to cruise

there for the same objects as before, viz. the protecting of the homeward and outward bound merchantmen: but about the end of August, only a very few days after he left the main fleet, he was obliged to put into Plymouth, in consequence of his provisions and stores having run short, and his ships having become foul. During this very short cruise, however, one of his squadron captured a French merchant vessel, bound to Placentia.

Such was the foul state of his ships, that he was not able to leave Plymouth till the 28th of September, when he sailed with a squadron, consisting of five two-deckers and some frigates. Previous to her sailing, he had dispatched the Hampshire, a fifty gun ship, whose state was not so bad as that of the rest of the squadron. On the 29th of September this vessel joined him, having captured a small French privateer. With this force Lord Dursley cruised in soundings, without, however, any event of importance occurring, though still distinguishing himself by the careful and successful protection which he afforded to the merchantmen, till early in November, when the season being too far advanced to continue longer at sea, at least with the larger vessels, he himself returned into port, leaving the frigates to cruise a short time longer. About the middle of November he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the white: respecting the date and circumstances of this promotion, Campbell has made a singular and unaccountable mistake; for he says it was retarded by the death of Prince George, and did not take place till the spring of the succeeding year: whereas, as it is remarked by Charnock, Prince George died on the 28th of October, when there was no idea of promoting Lord Dursley; and the promotion certainly took place in the month of December, and not in the spring of the succeeding year. That at the period of Prince George's death there was no idea of promoting Lord

Dursley, is sufficiently evident, from what Campbell himself relates respecting the cause of this promotion; for he attributes it to the great satisfaction which the English merchants expressed, for the protection his lordship afforded to their trade, while stationed in the Channel: but Lord Dursley did not return from this employment, as we have seen, till the beginning of November, and therefore it is not likely that her majesty would, as Campbell asserts, have resolved to promote him some time before the death of Prince George; that is, some time before he had completed the service on which he was employed.

Within a day or two after the date of his commission as vice-admiral of the white, his lordship sailed, and on the 29th of December, two large French ships were seen in chace of him: they evidently mistook his force, for as soon as they came near enough to ascertain it, they hauled their wind, and endeavoured to escape; this, however, they would not have been able to effect, the English squadron gaining fast on them, and having got within gunshot, had they not thrown several of their guns overboard. During this cruise, Lord Dursley's squadron captured only a small vessel from Newfoundland.

About the middle of February, 1709, he again sailed from Plymouth, having his flag on board the Kent, of seventy guns: besides this ship, his squadron consisted of the Medway, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, all fourth rates; and two other ships of the same class, with a frigate, joined him soon after he had put to sea. He had soon reason to hope, that on this cruise his success would be more brilliant than on his former ones; for a very short time after he left Plymouth, his squadron took two French privateers; and on the 22d of February he had a glimpse of the enemy's fleet, commanded by the celebrated Du Guai Trouin. Although Lord Dursley's force at this

time consisted only of three ships, beside the Kent, (the rest having separated from him,) and the force of the enemy amounted to eleven sail, he did not hesitate to give chase; but losing sight of them in the night time, he put into Plymouth, where he expected to find the rest of his squadron.

As it was now ascertained, that a strong French force was in or near the Channel, commanded by one of their most enterprising and successful officers, it was judged proper to give Lord Dursley some additional ships: three of these he sent to cruise off Brest, and with the remainder he sailed to cruise in soundings. On the 29th of March, orders were sent to him to take under his protection the outward-bound Lisbon fleet, and to see them safe to a certain latitude; he was, however, strongly tempted, as Campbell has already related, to transgress these orders, for receiving intelligence that Du Guai Trouin was near the Channel, he resolved to follow, and leave the merchantmen under the protection of some Dutch men-of-war, expected from Portsmouth, but they not arriving, he executed his orders. On his return from convoying the Lisbon fleet, he fell in, on the 9th of April, with the person he was so anxious to encounter, Du Guai Trouin, in the Achilles, in company with the Glorieux: the former ship mounted seventy guns, the latter forty-four. The Bristol, an English fifty gun ship, which had been captured by him the day before, was also in company; Lord Dursley immediately gave chase; he first came up with the Bristol and captured her, but the vessel having received a shot in the bread-room, sunk soon afterwards; as soon as his Lordship had captured her, he pushed on in pursuit of the Achilles and Glorieux; the Chester, one of his squadron, sailing faster than the others, was fortunate enough to come up with the Achilles, and captured her, but Monsieur Du Guai Trouin himself succeeded in escaping, by the good sailing of his vessel.

In the month of July, Lord Dursley was removed from his station in soundings, and appointed to the command of a small squadron, which was fitting out at the Nore ; the object of this squadron was to intercept some vessels laden with corn, which were expected from the Baltic, and, for this purpose, his lordship cruised off Schowen, in the island of Zealand ; not being able, however, to learn any intelligence respecting them, and having continued on his station, till all chance of intercepting them was at an end, he sailed for the coast of Yorkshire, and having landed there, he proceeded to Plymouth, and resumed his command in soundings ; his orders were to cruise there, till he fell in with the British West India fleet, which were daily expected, and to intercept which, it was known that Du Guai Trouin was again at sea. This object he completely effected ; for, having fallen in with the merchantmen, he saw them safe into Channel, and then resumed his station. About the end of October, his squadron captured a valuable French ship from Guadaloupe, with a cargo worth upwards of one hundred thousand pounds ; and, before he left this station, towards the end of November, he shifted his flag on board the Winchester, in consequence of the captain of that vessel having vindicated the British maritime rights, against a Dutch man-of-war, which refused to pay the respect due to the flag of England. Very soon afterwards, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the red ; but he does not appear to have continued long at sea after this promotion. The causes for his retirement are not fully or accurately known, but it may be supposed, that the service on which he had been, nearly all his maritime life, employed, though not severe, or requiring any great mental exertion, was fatiguing, and much better suited to a young, active, and enterprising man, than to one who had arrived at the age of Lord Dursley : another cause for his retirement, however, undoubtedly operated ; his father died on the 24th of September, 1710, and he consequently

succeeded to the title of Earl of Berkley and to the family estates; this increased rank and fortune gave him reason to expect honour and emolument from offices, which would not require his professional services and exertions; and his expectations were not disappointed; soon after the death of his father, he was appointed lord lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and of the city and county of Bristol; and, on the 17th of September, he was made keeper of the forest of Dean, and constable of St. Briant's castle; these honours were, indeed, only such as he might naturally expect, as they had been enjoyed by his father; but his professional honours were more acceptable and gratifying; he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of Great Britain, and lieutenant of the admiralties and of the navies and seas of the kingdom. In 1711, he was, however, removed from the office of lord lieutenant, in consequence of his steady attachment to whig principles, and his zeal for the interest of the house of Hanover: but his disgrace (if so it can be called), was not of long duration; for, on the death of Queen Anne, he was appointed by the lords justices to command the fleet, which attended his majesty George I. to England; and his principles being well known to, and justly appreciated by, that monarch, he restored him to the lord lieutenancy, and appointed him one of the lords of the bed-chamber. On the 16th of April, having been sworn in a member of the privy council, he was raised to the rank of first lord commissioner of the Admiralty; the duties of this office he discharged with great zeal and strictness. One anecdote is recorded of him, very much to his honour, when we reflect, how few in his situation would have acted as he did, especially considering the obligations he was under to his sovereign, and the loyal attachment he felt for him.

A gentleman, who was the natural son of one of the greatest men of his time, had; while acting as commodore, incurred a strong and well-founded suspicion of his unwill-

ingness to fight the enemy, who appeared to be stronger by one ship only than himself. Earl Berkley marked him down in his black book; and when, by the interest of his family, he was named for a flag, refused to sign his commission, and persisted in his refusal, even against the commands of his sovereign; this he did, not from any personal pique, or other unworthy motive, but because, as he declared, and his declaration gained ready credit from all who knew his character, that he would not set a bad example in the navy.

When the rupture with Spain broke out in the spring of 1718-19, he was appointed admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet, still retaining his situation of first lord commissioner of the Admiralty; his own ambition, or the favour of his sovereign, placed him, both in power and state, as near the dignity of lord high admiral as possible; for, by a special warrant from the crown, he hoisted the lord high admiral's flag, the first time it had been ever borne in command at sea; and three captains, one of whom was vice-admiral Littleton, were ordered to serve under him, on board his flag-ship. It is remarked, by the author of the life of Sir John Leake, "that this appointment was rendered the more extraordinary, from the circumstance of Sir John Norris, who was a senior flag officer, being at that time employed in the Channel, and being honoured with no such distinction."

The Dorsetshire was the ship in which the earl hoisted his flag: but the force with which he sailed, by no means corresponded with the rank and power of the commander, for it consisted only of seven ships of the line: on the 29th of March, this squadron sailed from St. Helen's, in order to join Sir John Norris, who had the same number of ships with him on a cruise between the Scilly islands and the Lizard. Nothing, however, was done, and his lordship having returned to Spithead, struck his flag on the 15th of April, and went up to London.

After this, he never again went to sea, but he retained the office of first lord of the Admiralty till 1727, when he was succeeded by Lord Torrington; his health now beginning to decline very rapidly, he was advised to try the milder climate of France; in compliance with this advice, he took up his abode at the castle of Aubigny, a seat of the Duke of Richmond's, near Rochelle, where he died on the 17th of August, 1736: the body was embalmed and brought over to Berkley for interment.

His professional talents and character seem to have been very similar in nature and degree to those of Lord John Berkley of Stratton: they were not very remarkable, but they were well suited to the services on which he was employed, and they were rendered valuable and useful by his skill, activity, and enterprise.

MEMOIRS OF SIR CHARLES WAGER.

OF the family from which Sir Charles Wager was descended, the rank and circumstances of his parents, the place and time of his birth, the education which he received, the events of his earlier years, and the period of life at which he entered into the sea service, there are no accurate and well-authenticated particulars: but, it is highly probable, that he was sprung from a family not distinguished either for antiquity or wealth, and that the rank which he afterwards attained, and the fortune he acquired, were solely the reward of his own personal merit and professional services.

The first authentic and official mention of him occurs in the year 1692; on the 7th of June, in that year, he was appointed to the command of a fire-ship, which, from its name (*Razee*,) appears to have been formed out of a larger vessel cut down: in this fire-ship he did not long continue, being transferred to a large sized hired armed ship of

forty-four guns, called the *Samuel* and *Henry*, in which, during the spring of 1693, he was sent to New England, with a fleet of merchantmen under his protection. His name does not occur again, for nearly three years, at which time, in 1695, he seems to have commanded the *Woolwich*, of fifty-four guns, one of the Channel fleet, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. When peace took place, he was continued in active service, part of the time in this vessel, and part in a ship of the same force and size. He was not distinguished by any services of importance during the remainder of the reign of King William; but on the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, his merit having been observed by those with whom he had served, he was appointed to the command of the *Hampton Court*, of seventy guns; empowered and ordered to hoist the broad pendant, as commodore, and sent with a small squadron to cruise off the coast of France; this took place in the spring of the year 1703. Although his force, on this occasion, consisted only of three fourth-rates and two frigates, besides the *Hampton Court*, the French did not venture to send to sea any squadron to oppose him, or to free their trade from his attacks; he was not, however, very successful; for the only capture which he is officially announced to have made, was a privateer, carrying fourteen small guns.

When he returned from this cruise, in which though he did not much annoy or injure the trade of the enemy, he succeeded in protecting our own; he was again put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was stationed in the Mediterranean: on this station, and during the events which took place there, the *Hampton Court* formed one of the divisions of Rear-admiral Byng. When Sir George Rooke assumed the chief command of the fleet, Captain Wager continued with him: he was not, however, present with that admiral, when he succeeded in capturing Gibraltar; nor was he so fortunate as to be engaged in

the battle off Malaga, having been detached a few days before that event took place, on a separate service. While he remained on the Mediterranean station, he passed from under the command of Sir George Rooke, to that of Sir John Leake ; and when this admiral captured the island of Majorca, he was present with him, and was exchanged as one of the hostages, while the treaty of capitulation was going on.

Although he hitherto had not enjoyed any peculiarly favourable or important opportunities of distinguishing himself, yet, on all occasions, he had manifested such zealous and regular attention to his duty, and was so highly recommended by the respective admirals under whom he served, that on his return from the Mediterranean, he was, in the year 1707, appointed to the command of a squadron, destined for the West Indies ; on this service, nine ships of the line were sent along with him ; of these, his own ship, the *Expedition*, mounted seventy guns : and, on board of her, he was authorised and ordered to hoist the broad pendant, as commodore, as soon as the squadron had got out of the Channel. Under his convoy, sailed a large and valuable fleet of merchantmen ; and, of course, his principal object and duty, in his voyage outwards, was to protect them ; in this he succeeded so well, as to give great satisfaction both to the Admiralty and to the owners of the vessels.

The state of the British West Indies, at that time, required the presence and control of a person of a firm mind, an honest and independent character, and great zeal and prudence : many abuses existed, which had been so long established, that they were almost regarded as legalised : the British commerce was unprotected, and exposed to the attacks of the enemy, or suffering under the depredations of those, who ought to have been its friends and guardians. Besides the injuries it suffered from these causes, smuggling was carried to a great height.

There was, therefore, sufficient room and necessity for the exercise of all Captain Wager's zeal, prudence, and firmness; his first object, after his arrival in the West Indies, was to provide for the security of the islands, and the protection of trade: there was not much difficulty in effecting these objects, so far as the enemy was concerned; but it was a much more difficult, as well as a very delicate object, to discharge the duty he owed to his country, and fulfil the purposes for which he had been sent out, and, at the same time, not set the planters and other inhabitants against him, so as to render all his schemes abortive and ineffectual. He, however, ingratiated himself with them, in the first place, by the protection which he afforded their trade and commerce, and by freeing them from the apprehensions they entertained of an attack from the enemy, as well as by the openness of his disposition, and the urbanity of his manners; and having thus gained a firm footing in their good opinion, he proceeded, though cautiously and slowly, to reform those abuses, which they had countenanced or practised, and from which they had derived no inconsiderable share of emolument.

A few months after his arrival in the West Indies, it was strongly and confidently rumoured, that a powerful and numerous squadron had sailed from France, under the command of Du Casse, and that the object of this squadron was the conquest of Jamaica. Before, however, Commodore Wager had begun to form his plans for the defence of the island, he ascertained, from indisputable authority, that though his squadron had actually sailed from France, it was not destined against Jamaica, but was bound for the Havannah; having ascertained this point, it was not difficult to conjecture, on what errand it was going to this island. The marine of Spain, at this period, was totally inadequate to the protection of its valuable galleons across the Atlantic; the court of Madrid, therefore, had applied to its ally, to send out a naval

force adequate to this important purpose; the galleons were to proceed from the coast of South America to Hispaniola, and from this place, they were to be convoyed to the mother country, by Admiral Du Casse. Commodore Wager immediately formed his plans: it is natural to suppose, that he was stimulated by the hopes of obtaining such a rich and valuable prize as the galleons; but, at the same time, it was his duty, neither to expose his squadron to a very superior force, nor in pursuit of his object, to leave the West Indies unprotected. On the latter point, he was not under much apprehension; for, by his judicious measures, he had rendered the islands secure from any small force, and, it was not likely, that Du Casse would neglect the galleons, to come against them. With respect to exposing his squadron to a much superior force, he resolved to guard against this, by attacking the galleons before they were joined by the French fleet. The next part of his plan was, to prevent the galleons from escaping him: as he was perfectly well acquainted with their route, he divided his squadron; one part he sent to cruise off the Spanish main, while, with the remainder, he cruised among the islands. The galleons, he conjectured, had not left Porto Bello; and from this place they were to proceed to Carthagena, before they stood over for Hispaniola; the chances of his success, therefore, were numerous, and he concerted measures in such a manner, as he concluded would increase these chances. He left Jamaica about the middle of January, 1706, and continued cruising in the tract of the galleons till the middle of March; at this time, he received intelligence from one of his vessels, that the galleons were not to leave Porto Bello, till the 1st of May; from this, and other circumstances, he concluded that the Spaniards were apprised of his intentions, and that therefore they had delayed the sailing of the galleons.

It was now necessary to come to some determination; he could not expect, while he was known to be at sea, that the enemy would send out the galleons, or if they did send them out, that they would not place them under the protection of such a powerful force, as would effectually prevent him from capturing them: this force; however, he knew they could not collect easily or soon; and as the regular arrival of the galleons in Spain, was an object of great importance, both to the Spanish government and merchants, he concluded, that if the alarm on his account subsided, they would rather send them to Hispaniola, unguarded, than delay their departure any longer. These considerations, and others of a similar nature, determined him respecting the course which he ought to pursue; he resolved to return to Port Royal, and he took effectual care that his return to port should be early known to the Spaniards, but yet, in a such a manner, as not to excite any suspicions.

Accordingly, he returned to Port Royal with all his ships, except the Expedition, which had been sent thither before, in consequence of some damage that she had received; when she left the fleet, Commodore Wager hoisted the broad pendant on board the Kingston. As it was of much more importance to resume the cruise as soon as possible, than to sail with a very strong force, the commodore put to sea again, on the 14th of April, with the Expedition, Portland, Kingston, and a fire-ship, the only vessels that were re-equipped. He had not been a fortnight at sea, before a dreadful storm arose, from the effects of which all his ships suffered considerably, but more particularly the Expedition; indeed, the damage which she received was so great, that, under any other circumstances, Commodore Wager would have deemed himself not only justified, but obliged to return to port, or, at least, to detach her from the fleet; but, situated as he was, he

could not think of doing either of these things; and his crew, being equally anxious as himself, respecting the hoped-for capture of the galleons, exerted themselves with so much alacrity and good will, that the Expedition was soon put in a state fit to keep the sea. The month of May now drew near a conclusion, and there were no signs or intelligence of the galleons; expectation and hope had almost subsided, or, at least, had given place to impatience; each day had lessened the chance of falling in with them; and the commodore and his crew had nearly made up their minds to their anticipated disappointment and ill fortune, when, on the 28th of the month, at day-break, two ships were discovered standing in for Carthagena, and by noon, seventeen sail were descried.

As the galleons were not far from Carthagena when they were discovered, Commodore Wager was rather apprehensive, that by crowding sail, they would escape him; and he was well pleased when he observed that they pursued their course, without using any endeavours to this effect; the cause of this cannot be ascertained, but, it is probable, that they either considered themselves so strong, as to be in no danger of attack from the English, or so near their port, as to be secure of getting into it, before they were overtaken. As the general orders to the Spanish galleons are to avoid fighting, if possible, the latter supposition is the most natural. Commodore Wager resolved to profit by their slow sailing, from whatever cause or motive it proceeded; and his vessels being in good condition, before evening he had gained on them considerably. Perceiving now, when it was too late, that they must fight, the commodore of the galleons formed a line, and waited for the attack. On board of the three largest and strongest vessels, the greatest quantity of treasure had been embarked; these were distinguished by their pendants, and the largest of these three was placed in the centre of the line, having a white pendant flying. In size, this vessel

exceeded the Expedition, and in the number of her guns, which were all brass, she nearly equalled her; her crew consisted of about seven hundred men. In the rear was stationed a vessel mounting fifty brass guns, and another, mounting forty-four, led the van; the smaller vessels were judiciously placed in the intervals between these three large vessels; and as they were at the distance of nearly half a mile from each other, the whole line extended about a mile and a half.

Soon after the action commenced, some of the small vessels quitted the line, and standing in for the shore, effected their escape; but notwithstanding this defection, there were still twelve ships against the Expedition, Portland and Kingston. Commodore Wager singled out the largest ship for his opponent, and the battle between them began about sun-set; as soon as he had taken his station, he made the signal for the Portland and Kingston to engage the other two vessels, that formed the van and rear of the enemy: but this signal was not attended to by either of these ships, and as little attention was paid to his next signal, which was, that the Portland and Kingston should, along with the Expedition, form a line of battle. The commodore now perceived, that if the battle was to be won, it must be won by his own exertion and valour; and nothing daunted, though very indignant and highly mortified at the shameful behaviour of his comrades, he kept up a tremendous fire against his opponent: the engagement between them had lasted about an hour and a half, when the galleon blew up, and only eleven of her crew were saved, notwithstanding the British sailors, no longer enemies, because their opponents were in misfortune, used their most strenuous exertions, even at the risk of their own lives, to save them. It was completely dark, so that the commodore could neither ascertain where the Portland and Kingston were, nor what they were doing,—nor the course which the other ships of the enemy had taken:

at length, he was fortunate enough to discover one of the galleons, and immediately gave chase to her: when he came up to her, the darkness was so extreme, that he could not distinguish the bow of his opponent from her stern; he was therefore obliged to fire into her at random: his broadside entered her stern, and sweeping her decks, damaged her so much, and did such execution among her crew, that she could not escape. At this time, the Portland and Kingston came up, and the galleon surrendered about two o'clock in the morning.

As the prisoners were very numerous, and consequently productive of much inconvenience and trouble, Commodore Wager complied with their request of being put on shore, in the island of Baru, near the Spanish main. The Expedition had suffered so severely in the action, that the commodore removed from her, and hoisted his broad pendant on board the Portland. His first intention seems to have been, to have continued his cruise in this vessel, having dispatched the prize and other ships to Jamaica; but this intention he soon gave up, and arrived himself in that island on the 13th of July. He thought himself bound to bring the captains of the Portland and Kingston to a court-martial, which was accordingly held on them in Port Royal harbour: they were acquitted of the charge of want of personal courage; but being found guilty of a breach of part of the twelfth, and a part of the fourteenth articles of war, they were sentenced to be dismissed from their respective commands. Soon after Commodore Wager arrived in Jamaica, the Monmouth came in from England, bringing him the commission of rear-admiral of the blue, with orders to send home the Expedition, and four other vessels. This commission was dated on the 19th of November, in the preceding year; and on the 2d of December, 1708, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the white.

His firmness and prudence, as well as the esteem and confidence which his sailors reposed in him, were very conspicuously and honourably displayed during his continuance at Jamaica. Regulations respecting the proper and impartial distribution of prize-money had long been wanting: whenever a vessel was captured, a disgraceful scene of pillage and plunder took place; every person seizing and appropriating to his own use, whatever he was fortunate or strong enough to lay hold of. So far as the cargo of the captured vessel was concerned, all this was deemed fair; and though respecting the property of the crew there were some regulations, they were seldom observed. The consequences of this want of order and law, may easily be conjectured; not only was the crew of the captured vessel exposed to violence and rapine, but disputes often occurred among the captors, and those who, from their rank, ought to have had the largest shares, not unfrequently were obliged to content themselves with an inadequate portion of the captured merchandize. Even the regulations that had been established, in many cases, would have operated unfairly, had they been carried into execution. In short, the evils of the practice were so numerous and glaring, that they attracted the notice of the legislature; and during the session of 1707, an act of parliament was passed, to regulate the future distribution of prize-money. As this law was not known to Admiral Wager at the time he captured the galleon, he had permitted his officers and crew to act in the usual manner, on this occasion; but on his return to Jamaica, being made acquainted with the law, he resolved to comply with it, most scrupulously, though, by so doing, he would not only be injuring himself, but running the risk of creating disturbances among his crew: in order to shew them, that the new law was as unfavourable to him and his officers as it could be to them, and that he was nevertheless re-

solved to submit to it, he ordered his captain to deliver up to the prize agents, appointed by this law, all the bullion and valuable effects, which, according to the old usage, had been seized between decks for his own use. By this act, the sailors immediately perceived that it would be for their interest to follow the example of their commander and comply with the law. This conduct on the part of Admiral Wager, is the more commendable, if the saying attributed to him, be true, that "a man who would not fight for a galleon would fight for nothing." As this seems to indicate rather a mercenary disposition, it might, however, refer not to his own feelings or motives, but to those which he knew actuated sailors in general.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1708, information was received at Jamaica, that a celebrated French admiral was expected in the West Indies, with a powerful fleet and army, for the attack of that island. On this occasion, Admiral Wager took the most prompt and effectual method for its protection: he ordered the ships to be moored across the entrance of Port Royal harbour, in such a manner and direction, that they could be flanked by the fort. Things continued in this state till the middle of January, when, the enemy not having made his appearance, and no intelligence having been received which indicated that his intentions were against Jamaica, the admiral unmoored the ships, and sent them out to cruise in different directions. The stations which he assigned, and the instructions which he gave to these cruisers, were so judicious, and he was moreover, so exact in seeing that all his officers performed their duty, that during the remainder of his command in the West India station, a greater number of prizes were captured than at any former period of the same length; nor, while he molested the trade of the enemy, did he in the smallest degree, neglect the protection of our own; so that from all classes of people, he received the most unqualified and sincere

commendation; and on his return to England, he was accompanied by the esteem of a great majority of the colonists. Nor did they content themselves with private testimonials of their approbation and grateful sense of his conduct; for through the official channel of the governor, the British ministry were informed how well Admiral Wager had discharged his duty while he commanded on the West India station.

The ministry were not slow to reward such merit; almost immediately after his return to England, he was appointed rear-admiral of the red; and on the 8th of December, the honour of knighthood was conferred on him by Queen Anne. During the remainder of this reign, he was not employed; but this did not proceed from any cause or motive in the least injurious to his character, nor even from inattention on the part of government: it is highly probable, that having been so long on active service, especially in the West Indies, his health and domestic concerns required his presence on shore. On the accession of George I. it was thought proper to recall Sir J. Wishart, who, at that time, was commander-in-chief, on the Mediterranean station; and Sir Charles Wager was selected as his successor. Very soon after his appointment, his name appears in the Gazette, as comptroller of the navy. During his command in the Mediterranean, which continued a twelvemonth, he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself. On the 16th of June, 1716, he was made vice-admiral of the blue; on the 1st of February, 1717, vice-admiral of the white; and on the 15th of the following month, vice-admiral of the red. Honours and emoluments now accumulated on him; he held the comptrollership of the navy, till the month of March, 1718, when he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty.

His professional inactivity continued from the period of his return from the Mediterranean, till the year 1722. At

this time the British ministry found themselves under the disagreeable necessity of curbing the insolence of our allies, the Portuguese. Under the sanction or pretext of an old law, prohibiting the exportation of coin on pain of death, the Portuguese government had condemned two gentlemen belonging to the English factory at Lisbon. On the receipt of this intelligence, nine sail of the line, besides frigates and bomb-vessels, were ordered to sea, and the command of them given to Sir Charles Wager: but the Portuguese, alarmed at this preparation, made every satisfaction that was required of them, and the squadron was dismantled without ever having put to sea.

In the beginning of the year 1726, the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and St. Petersburg, manifested undoubted symptoms of hostility against Great Britain: what their objects respectively were, it is not easy to divine, except that with regard to Spain, the re-capture of Gibraltar was a motive sufficiently strong, to excite her enmity against this country. On the appearance of these hostile symptoms, orders were given to fit out three powerful hostile fleets, as it was rightly apprehended that the courts of St. Petersburg and Madrid would be most easily and readily intimidated by the appearance of a British fleet on their respective coasts. The command of the Baltic fleet was given to Sir Charles Wager; on the 17th of April he sailed from the Nore, with twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and an hospital-ship, with his flag flying on board the *Torbay*, of eighty guns: On the 25th of the month he arrived at Copenhagen, where he was joined by some Danish men-of-war. Losing no time, he proceeded up the Baltic to Revel, and threatened the Russian coast with invasion. At first, the fleet of the enemy seemed disposed to venture to sea; but being convinced that they had no chance against such a superior force, and their ships being in bad condition, both for sailing and fighting, they remained secure in

their harbour. Sir Charles, under these circumstances, had no other alternative but to block them up, and at the same time alarm their coasts. This he did, till the season arrived when it was no longer safe to remain in the Baltic, which he therefore left on the 28th of September, and arrived safe in England, after a passage of about six weeks.

In consequence of the appearance of a British fleet in the Baltic, the Russian court were disposed to come to an amicable adjustment with Great Britain; but Spain still maintained her hostile attitude, so that in the spring of 1727, it was judged proper to send a fleet out for the defence of Gibraltar, which fortress, it was naturally concluded, would be first attacked by the Spaniards. This fleet consisted of six sail of the line, and two small vessels; and on board of it were some troops for the garrison: the command of it was given to Sir Charles, who hoisted his flag on board the *Kent*. On the 19th of January he sailed from Spithead, and on the 2d of February he reached Gibraltar: on this station he found Admiral Hopson, with five sail of the line, so that his force now was fully equal to the accomplishment of the object for which he had been sent out. As a Spanish army was actually drawn up before Gibraltar, Sir Charles lost no time in disembarking the soldiers, and the provisions, ammunition, and stores, which he carried out. Finding, also, that the batteries in Gibraltar were inadequately supplied with guns, he sent on shore from his fleet as many as he could conveniently and safely spare. The appearance of peace was still kept up between the English and Spaniards; but on the 10th of February the Spanish general constructed a battery in such a situation, as to leave no doubt that it was intended to act against Gibraltar. As the remonstrance of the governor on this subject produced no effect, Sir Charles ordered part of his fleet to fire on their entrenchments; thus positive hostili-

ties began. The siege of the fortress lasted about four months; on the 23d of June, the courts of Spain and St. James's having settled their differences, a suspension of hostilities between the governor of Gibraltar and the Spanish general was agreed upon; but difficulties arose in consequence of the Spanish government contending that the governor acted without authority: hostilities therefore recommenced between the vessels of the two nations, and Sir Charles Wager continued to cruise off the coast of Spain. His object was to fall in with the galleons that were expected, and while he was off Cadiz, into which port they were to come, thirteen French men-of-war anchored before the place. As Sir Charles had received no information respecting this fleet, he was rather at a loss how to act: however, with his usual prudence and presence of mind, he gave strict orders that no communication should be held with it. After peace was actually concluded between Great Britain and Spain, he continued on the same station for some months, till being assured that the Spaniards were disposed to comply with the terms of the peace fully and sincerely in that quarter, he returned to England, where he arrived on the 13th of April, 1728, leaving part of his fleet at Gibraltar.

On the 9th of May, in the subsequent year, he hoisted his flag on board the Cornwall, of eighty guns, and took the command of a fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line and three frigates, besides nine sail of Dutch men-of-war, and a few frigates belonging to that nation. This fleet had been equipped, and our allies, the Dutch, had been called on for the ships which, by treaty, they were bound to furnish, in consequence of some hostile indications on the part of the Spaniards. By this timely and vigorous preparation, Spain was reduced to the necessity of acting in a more just and honourable manner than she seemed disposed to do; and this happy consequence was

produced merely by keeping the fleet ready for sea at Spithead. By the beginning of October, the negotiations at Madrid were brought so near a satisfactory termination, that orders were given for the British fleet to come into port, and the Dutch confederate ships returned to Holland.

The policy and interest of France induced her government very frequently to alarm the British court with the apprehensions of an invasion, for the purpose of supporting the cause of the Pretender. This alarm, during the first establishment of the house of Hanover on the throne of these kingdoms, was very natural, as there were many adherents of the Pretender's cause, who would have united themselves to him, had he landed, and who were even disposed to be troublesome and refractory at the very idea of the French attempting to land, in order to support him. Whenever, therefore, the French government were desirous of putting Great Britain to the expense of equipping her fleet, of distracting her attention, or of keeping alive the attachment and hopes of the Pretender's partizans, they made every shew of preparing an armament on that part of their coast most directly opposite to England. In the year 1731, the British ministry received information that a large assemblage of troops was forming near Dunkirk and Calais; and from this and other circumstances, it was concluded that an embarkation was intended. In these cases, it was always the safest and most prudent method for the ministry to take vigorous and immediate steps, and to shew, both to the French government and the partizans of the Pretender in Great Britain, that they were thoroughly prepared to prevent an invasion. On this occasion, therefore, in conformity with their usual plan, seventeen sail of the line were ordered to be got ready for sea with as little delay as possible, and Sir Charles Wager was instructed to take the command of

this fleet : he accordingly hoisted his flag on board of the *Namur*, which was at that time fitting out at Chatham. But as the intelligence which continued to be received respecting the operations of the enemy, required still more dispatch, and the *Namur* was not in a condition to go to sea, Sir Charles was ordered to shift his flag from her, to hoist it on board of the *Deal Castle*, and to proceed to the Downs immediately ; there to assume the command of the ships which were ready for sea. As soon as he arrived in the Downs, he again shifted his flag, and hoisted it on board of the *Grafton*. From the Downs he was ordered round to Spithead, where he arrived on the 8th of July ; and on the 10th of that month he received his commission as admiral of the blue, again hoisting his flag on board the *Namur*.

By this time, either the preparations of the French were laid aside, or the British government had fully and satisfactorily ascertained that their object was by no means hostile to this country ; consequently, the fleet under Sir Charles Wager was no longer wanted for the purpose for which it was at first equipped and assembled : but another occasion now called for its employment. The British government were bound to support Don Carlos in his establishment, as Duke of Parma ; and on this errand Sir Charles was ordered to proceed, first to Cadiz, and afterwards to the Mediterranean. As, however, it was judged expedient to send a larger force for this purpose than that which had been already collected, several ships joined him at Spithead, so that his fleet consisted of twenty-one sail of the line, two ships, carrying forty guns each, and two frigates : with these he sailed for Cadiz, where he arrived on the 1st of August. Here he was joined by a Spanish squadron, under the command of the Marquis de Mari, and some Spanish troops were embarked on board both of the English and Spanish ships. While this was going on, Sir Charles, in order

that he might discharge the important duty on which he was sent in a proper and satisfactory manner, proceeded to Madrid, where he had frequent conferences with his Catholic majesty, and the British ambassador there, on the subject. Every thing being arranged to the satisfaction, and according to the wishes of his Catholic majesty, Sir Charles returned to Cadiz, and took upon himself the command of the combined fleet. On the 6th of October he sailed, and in the evening of the 15th he arrived off Leghorn. Here it was intended that the Spanish troops should be landed, if the permission of the grand Duke of Tuscany could be obtained for that purpose. Application was accordingly made to him, and he not objecting to it, the troops were landed, to proceed to their ultimate destination and object. As Sir Charles had now performed every thing for which he had been sent out, he sailed from Leghorn on the 25th of the month: during his passage, he encountered several severe storms, by which his fleet was so much dispersed, that when he arrived at St. Helen's, on the 10th of December, he had only five sail of the line along with him.

During this expedition, (if it may with propriety be so called,) it is evident that Sir Charles Wager was not called upon for the display or exercise of any superior talents: indeed, all that was required of him was to concert his measures, and carry them into execution in such a manner, as to satisfy the Spanish monarch; but whoever is well acquainted with the habits and character of seamen, even those of our own nation, and high in professional rank, must be convinced that they often find much more difficulty in executing commissions, which require delicate and minute attention, than those which demand bold and vigorous action. On this occasion, trifling as it was, Sir Charles conducted himself in such a manner, as to give great satisfaction, not only to his own court, but to the court of Madrid. Great Britain, as we

have already mentioned, being at this time the grand preserver of the peace of Europe, and bound to see the treaty of Vienna carried into full and regular execution, especially in what regarded the establishment of Don Carlos, had fitted out a fleet for this purpose: when it was accomplished, the affairs of this country resumed their quiet and peaceable appearance, and the services of Sir Charles were no longer required.

On the death of Sir George Byng, Lord Viscount Torrington, who had been first lord commissioner of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Wager was appointed to succeed him in that important, honourable, and arduous office. In the beginning of the subsequent year, the state of Europe was such, as seemed to require that Great Britain should assume a formidable attitude; sixty-one sail of the line and thirty-one frigates were immediately put into commission, and the most prompt and effectual methods were adopted to supply them with men. In the event of a rupture, it was determined to give Sir Charles the chief naval command; and in order that his rank in the service might correspond with the importance of this command, he was, in the month of December, appointed admiral of the fleet. He, however, never actually assumed the command, as, fortunately, the peace of Europe at this time was not disturbed.

As, after this, he did not again enter on service, it may be proper to confine our observations to his conduct while first lord commissioner of the Admiralty: for this situation he seems to have been well qualified; of his professional skill and experience there could be no doubt: but the duties of this high and arduous office require something besides mere professional skill and experience; indeed, they may be and have often been well and satisfactorily discharged, without any experimental knowledge of sea affairs; but they cannot be discharged, if

the person who holds the office be not possessed of a clear and comprehensive mind, active and regular habits, a firm but conciliating disposition, and, above all, a zealous and conscientious determination to discharge his duty in the most impartial and complete manner. In these respects, the appointment of Sir Charles Wager was fortunate for the country ; for though, while he held the office of first lord commissioner, there was no call for uncommon exertion, yet there were many opportunities which he gladly embraced, of promoting the naval knowledge and interests of his country. The most remarkable and important of these we shall notice, though with regard to the first instance, it may be necessary to digress a little, in order to render it better understood. This digression, however, we trust our readers will pardon, as the subject is one interesting in itself, and not irrelevant to the professed subject of this work.

In the year 1731, Mr. Dobbs, a member of the Irish parliament, and a gentleman of literary habits and acquirements, having turned his thoughts and reading for some time to the subject of a passage to the South Seas by the north-west part of Hudson's bay, and being convinced of its practicability, drew up the reasons which induced him to adopt this opinion : these he communicated to Colonel Bladen, one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, in the hopes that the South-Sea company might be induced to attempt the passage ; but they declined it, in consequence of having relinquished the whale fishery in Davis's Streights. Mr. Dobbs does not appear to have taken any farther steps in this business till the year 1733, when, on his arrival in England from his native country, he shewed his MS. to Sir Charles Wager, who perused it with great attention and interest, and seemed satisfied both of the probability of the discovery, and of the propriety of attempting it. It appeared

to Sir Charles, that the Hudson's bay company, from their charter, were the most proper body to be consulted; and he therefore mentioned the circumstance to the deputy governor, who was very averse to the design, and discouraged him from it as much as possible. On Sir Charles stating the result of his interview with the deputy governor to Mr. Dobbs, that gentleman desisted for the present from the scheme; but in 1734-5, having still farther convinced himself of its practicability, but thinking it would be improper to embark in a concern which might interfere with the rights of the Hudson's bay company, he resolved to examine their charter. From this he found, that their privileges were so extensive, as must render them masters of any profit or advantage that might accrue from the discovery. It was therefore necessary to make another attempt to engage them in it, and the deputy governor being again applied to, consented to look over Mr. Dobbs' MS. On returning it, he said that the company were unwilling, from their ill success in the year 1719, to make any farther attempt; but on Mr. Dobbs stating that he only desired that one or two small sloops should be sent to explore that particular part of the bay where he thought it most likely the passage, if it existed at all, could be found, and that this voyage would neither be expensive nor long, the governor observed, that he believed the company would consent to satisfy Mr. Dobbs' curiosity; but as at this time there were apprehensions of a French war, he hoped the attempt would be delayed for the present.

Mr. Dobbs, in his memorial, had particularly pointed out a part of Hudson's bay, called the Welcome, as that part where the passage most probably might be found. This place lies in the north-west part of the bay, about sixty-four degrees north latitude. His reasons for concluding that a passage was obtainable here, were, in the first place, that, by all accounts, the coast in those parts was

broken land, and islands with large openings between them; secondly, that there were strong tides from the west and north-west; and, thirdly, that black whales were seen in great plenty, which must come from some western ocean, not being found in any other part of the bay.

In 1735-6, Mr. Dobbs was informed that the company had sent out orders to Churchill, one of their settlements on the bay, to prepare two sloops for the undertaking: on receiving this information, he drew up some instructions for the person who should be sent on the discovery; he particularly requested that the vessels should be of very easy draught; that they ought not to commence their examination till they reached the latitude of 64° ; that when they arrived in this latitude, they should carefully take the soundings and bearings of the land, and the setting or rising of the tides; whether they meet the flood from the west or north-west, as the lands lie; and whether it flows half tide in the offing; whether it be earlier upon the southing of the moon than at Churchill, or rises higher; also, that they should observe the variation: whether the coast be colder; what fish appear; and, he added, that if after they passed the latitude 65° , they should find an open sea to the west, and the tide and flood meet there, then they might conclude the passage was gained.

Mr. Dobbs, however, to his mortification, soon learnt that the company were either not sincere in their attempts to make the discovery, or that they had employed improper persons for the purpose; for the sloops went no farther than latitude $62\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. In their voyage they found many black whales, but no great tides. On learning these circumstances, Mr. Dobbs requested to see the journals of the sloops, but this was not complied with; he was only informed generally, that the sloops had set out early in the spring of the year 1736; that they were well provided

and manned; that they remained on the coast till the end of August, but could find no appearance of a passage. The governor, who made these communications, added, that as he had been blamed for running the company into such danger and expense, he hoped Mr. Dobbs would excuse him from meddling farther in the business. To this communication Mr. Dobbs replied, that he was convinced that the company were averse to making any discovery, otherwise they would not have refused him the sight of the sloops' journals; that it appeared absurd to him, if they had been manned properly, that they should have continued at sea from spring till August, without being able to proceed two hundred leagues to the north; and that in this time, especially considering the favourableness of the season, they might assuredly have sailed to latitude 66° north, since the whale ships often proceeded much farther, without obstruction or difficulty. Mr. Dobbs perceiving that the company were disposed to trifle with him, in the year 1737 again resolved to apply to Sir Charles Wager, informing him in a letter, that he had no resource but to get the discovery undertaken by the public. To this letter, Sir Charles sent him the following answer :

“ Admiralty Office, March 4, 1737-8.

“ Sir,—I received the favour of your letter of the 20th
“ post. I believe you judge very right, that the Hud-
“ son's bay company do not desire to have any body to
“ interfere with them in the fur trade, in those parts.
“ They seem to be content with what they have, and
“ make, I believe, more considerable profit by it, than if
“ it was further extended, which might be the case, if a
“ farther discovery were made; for, though they should
“ not find a navigable passage through into the south,
“ they might probably find Indian nations, from whom
“ furs might be bought cheaper than they can be bought in

“ Hudson’s bay, which would be a disadvantage to their trade.”

“ The probability of finding a passage, as you propose, seems to be very strong: the flood coming that way, is almost a demonstration: if a passage could be found into the South Sea, it would open a very large field, and probably, of a very profitable commerce. But the first projectors, let the affair succeed never so well, have seldom, if ever, found their account in it. However, that should not hinder others from exerting themselves in the discovering any thing that may be advantageous to the public; but a spirit of that kind seems to have been asleep for many years. War may, perhaps, have presented in some measure, or diverted men’s thoughts from any enterprise of this nature. I confess, I myself have had thoughts of that kind, and especially since I read your MS. of the probability of a north-west passage to the South Sea, but I have found but very few who were willing to bestow any thoughts upon it. I remember Lord Granard, and I have talked about it some times, but it was but *talk*:—other things and business nearer home, have employed our time, and thoughts too.—I think the best way to undertake such a discovery, is to have, as you propose, two proper vessels, to go at a proper time of the year, and to winter there, if necessary; and to carry with them a small cargo of goods proper to trade with any Indians they may meet with; and capable, honest men to be employed in the expedition, if such are to be found in the world, which I doubt; and ten or a dozen persons (or more, if proper) engaged in it, who would advance money sufficient to carry it on, who may, in time, if it should succeed, be better entitled to the name of the North-West, or South Sea company, than the present South Sea company has to that name, who are not permitted to trade to any one place within the

“ limits of their charter, which made such an *eclat*, at the
 “ first establishing it. If this should be once agreed on,
 “ and proper persons found to join in it, it may be then
 “ considered what authority may be thought proper to
 “ obtain from the crown, that the first that go and succeed
 “ may not beat the bush, and others come afterwards and
 “ catch the hare. For though I do not much like exclu-
 “ sive companies, where it is not absolutely necessary,
 “ yet I would not have the advantages that may be found
 “ by some, given away to others.—As to vessels being
 “ sent at the public expense, though it would not be
 “ great, yet the parliament may think, especially at this
 “ time, that we ought not to play with the money they
 “ give us, for other and particular services. However, if
 “ Sir Robert Walpole, or other proper persons, should
 “ think that the government should attempt it, at the
 “ public expense, I shall not be against it.

“ I am, Sir, yours, &c.

“ CHARLES WAGER.”

On the receipt of this letter, which displays consider-
 able propriety of judgment, Mr. Dobbs came over from
 Ireland, and had several conferences with Captain Mid-
 dleton, who had been many years in the Hudson's bay
 company, and whom he had consulted frequently before
 on the same subject. Captain Middleton was now more
 sanguine respecting the practicability of a north-west pas-
 sage, than he had ever been; for, during his last voyage,
 he had compared the appearances of the coast, &c. with
 the journal of Scroggs, who had been in Hudson's bay in
 the year 1722, and thought that Mr. Dobbs's ideas on the
 subject were confirmed. This gentleman, therefore, find-
 ing Captain Middleton sanguine, and Sir Charles Wager
 disposed to encourage the undertaking, persevered in
 pressing it on government, till in the year 1740, his ma-
 jesty was pleased to approve the scheme, and two vessels
 were ordered to be fitted out, the command of which was

given to Captain Middleton. He sailed in the summer of 1741; but it was the end of July before he could pass Hudson's streights, so that he was under the necessity of wintering at Prince of Wales fort, in Churchill river. While he remained here, he employed his men in the service of the Hudson's bay company; and when this circumstance was alleged against him, he pleaded that it was absolutely necessary to employ them, in order to keep them in health. He was detained in Churchill river by the ice till the month of July, 1742, when he sailed, and got as far north as latitude $65^{\circ} 30'$: here he discovered a head-land, to which he gave the name of Cape Dobbs. Abreast of this head-land, there was a large, fair opening, or inlet, which he called Wager river, after Sir Charles. Mr. Dobbs accused him of neglecting the examination of this river, which he concluded was a streight, and probably would have led to the wished for discovery. After leaving Wager river, Captain Middleton reached a bay, called Savage Sound; on sending his boats about sixty miles up, they found a deep channel, with a strong current against them, and high land on both sides: the water was brackish. On the 2d of August, Captain Middleton left this river, or streight, and proceeded to $66^{\circ} 44'$ north latitude, where he saw a cape, which he judged to be the most northerly point of America, the land falling off to the north west. On the next day he was embayed on all sides, and from this circumstance, he was induced to give it the name of Repulse bay: he observed that a tide came from this bay into the great ocean, west of Greenland, by a passage which he called the Frozen streights. These streights, however, Mr. Dobbs, in his remarks on Captain Middleton's voyage, contended were imaginary; and in his opinion, Cape Frigid joins the north continent. To the land which Captain Middleton judged to be the most northerly part of America, he gave the name of Prince William's land, in honour of his royal highness

the Duke of Cumberland. From hence, Captain Middleton returned to the south, tracing the shore till August 15, when he bore away for England.

Mr. Dobbs, as may be imagined, was exceedingly chagrined and disappointed at the result of his voyage; for, from Captain Middleton he expected such strenuous and persevering endeavours to find out the north-west passage, as in the expectation of a man of his temperment, and wedded as he was to his own opinion on this subject, could not fail to terminate in complete success. He, therefore, was not slow in suspecting Captain Middleton, of not having honestly discharged his duty; and, in this suspicion, he was confirmed by the receipt of an anonymous letter from London, charging the captain with wilfully suppressing the discovery. On this he came over from Ireland, and traced the letter to two persons, who had been surgeon and lieutenant to Captain Middleton in the Expedition. Mr. Dobbs conceived himself justified, on receiving this information, to bring forward an accusation before the lords of the Admiralty, against Captain Middleton. The lords, upon this, investigated the matter; it is, however, foreign to our purpose, to give the detail of the investigation; the result was, that though Captain Middleton might not have been so zealous and efficient, during the expedition, as he should have been, there was no ground for any more important or serious charge against him.

The other naval enterprise undertaken while Sir Charles Wager was first lord commissioner of the Admiralty was of a different and superior character, and attended with much more decisive and important results. We allude to the voyage of Commodore Anson round the world. As it was abundantly evident, that the sources from which Spain had her wealth, which enabled her to carry on hostilities with Great Britain, existed in her South American and East Indian possessions, and in the commerce which she carried on between these pos-

sessions, it was a natural idea, in the British government, to endeavour to cut off these sources: this they might accomplish, either permanently, or only for a season. Perhaps it would have been imprudent to have attempted the conquest either of the Spanish South American or East India possessions: and, as intercepting the supplies that she derived from them was much more easy and practicable, to such a power as Great Britain, who possessed the superiority at sea, this plan was preferred. In the year 1739, a war with Spain was deemed inevitable by the British government, and, under this impression, they planned an attack on the Spanish possessions, both in South America and in the East Indies, connecting with this plan, the further scheme of intercepting her galleons. The original idea of Commodore Anson's voyage was formed and matured by Sir Charles Wager; according to it, it was intended that he should be sent to the East Indies, with some men-of-war and land forces; he was to touch only at Java, and having watered there, to proceed without loss of time to Manilla, a town in Lucon, one of the Phillippine islands. It was not apprehended that any vigorous resistance would be encountered there, since it was in a defenceless condition, as indeed were all the Spanish settlements at the breaking out of the war. At the same time that Commodore Anson left England on this route, and for this purpose, another squadron was also to sail, under the command of Mr. Cornwall, which was to proceed into the South Sea, round Cape Horn, to cruise along the west coast of South America, and destroy such of the Spanish settlements as it was judged prudent and proper to attack, and afterwards to join the squadron under Commodore Anson at Manilla: here they were to wait for further orders.

Such was the project conceived and planned by Sir Charles Wager, remarkable for the simplicity, as well as sagacity of its combination, and which, if it had been carried into execution, fully up to Sir Charles's ideas and

hopes, must have proved seriously, and perhaps permanently detrimental to the colonies and power of Spain. From some cause, however, his original plan was laid aside, greatly to the concern and disappointment, not only of Sir Charles Wager, but also of Commodore Anson, who seems to have entered completely, and with earnest zeal, into all the particular objects which Sir Charles had in view, and to have made himself master of the means by which they were to have been accomplished. It is worthy of remark, that the same project had been formed by King William, a little before his death.

On the 9th of March, 1741-2, Sir Charles Wager resigned his situation of first lord of the Admiralty; and, in the month of December, in the same year, he was appointed treasurer of the navy. He did not, however, long survive this appointment, for he died the 24th of May, 1743. Charnock says he was in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when he died; but in this, he is contradicted by the author of a short account and character of him (which we shall presently quote,) who says he was only seventy-seven years old. The truth is, as we remarked at the commencement of this memoir, that the period of his birth is not known, and consequently his exact age, at the time of his death, cannot be ascertained.

Sir Charles Wager was a man certainly possessed of talents, and acquirements in his profession, highly creditable to himself, and useful to his country, though not of the rarest or most valuable kind: his judgment was solid, and always at his command, when he needed it most: he had a large share of good sense and knowledge of mankind, which being joined to a good temper, and good principles, commanded and secured respect. As he had no means of rising in his profession, but such as entirely depended upon himself, he seems, very early in life, to have laid it down as a rule of action, to make himself completely master of the duties he was expected to discharge, and to discharge them zealously and strictly. In con-

sequence of this, and of his good sense and presence of mind, he was always cool in the midst of danger and difficulty; he always saw his way clear; and was not only able to extricate himself, but also to advise and assist others. The other parts of his character, as well as a brief outline of his life, are impartially given in the paper to which we have already alluded.

“ On the 24th of May, 1743, died the right honourable
“ Sir Charles Wager, aged seventy-seven, knight; admiral of the white, treasurer of the navy, member of
“ parliament for West Looe, in Cornwall, and one of his
“ majesty’s most honourable privy council.

“ He was a man of great skill in his profession; and
“ was first made a captain at the battle of La Hogue, by
“ Admiral Russell, who recommended him, on the most
“ important services: he was sent with a command to the
“ West Indies, in the year 1707, where he attacked the
“ Spanish galleons, with three ships, though they were
“ fourteen in number, drawn up in line of battle; and
“ defeated them. His services Queen Anne distinguished,
“ by sending him a flag; and at his return, conferring
“ the honour of knighthood upon him. The riches he
“ acquired on this, and other occasions, were regarded
“ by him, only as instruments of doing good, and accordingly he gave fortunes to his relations, that he might
“ see them happy in his life time: and to persons in distress, his liberality was such, that whole families have
“ been supported, and their estates and fortunes saved by
“ his generosity. He was chosen member of parliament
“ for Portsmouth in 1709, and has sat in every parliament
“ since that time. He was some time comptroller of the
“ navy; afterwards he was one of the commissioners for
“ executing the office of lord high admiral of England;
“ and on the death of Lord Torrington, in January, 1732,
“ was deservedly placed at the head of that board. He
“ was a prudent, temperate, wise and honest man; easy
“ of access to all; unaffected in his manners; steady and

“ resolute in his conduct; affable and cheerful in his behaviour; and in time of action, or imminent danger, he was never hurried or discomposed.”

As a particular instance of his generosity, humanity, and benevolence, it may be mentioned, that he was a zealous promoter and liberal patron of that excellent institution, the Foundling Hospital.

A sumptuous monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, on the base of which is represented, in sculpture, the attack, capture, and destruction of the Spanish galleons, in the year 1708. The following inscription is likewise on it:—

To the Memory of
Sir CHARLES WAGER, Knt.
Admiral of the White, First Commissioner of the
Admiralty,
And Privy Councillor;
A man of great natural talents,
Improved by industry and long experience,
Who bore the highest commands,
And passed through the greatest employments
With credit to himself, and honour to his Country.
He was, in private life,
Humane, temperate, and bountiful;
In public station,
Valiant, prudent, wise, and honest;
Easy of access to all;
Steady and resolute in his conduct;
So remarkably happy in his presence of mind,
That no danger ever discomposed him:
Esteemed and favoured by his King,
Beloved and honoured by his Country,
He died the 24th of May, 1743, aged 77.
This Monument was erected
By FRANCIS GASHRY, Esq.
In gratitude to his great Patron, A. D. 1747.

MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL VERNON.

THE name and family of Vernon are of great antiquity. William de Vernon took his surname from the town and district of Vernon, in the duchy of Normandy, near the river Seine, of which he was the sole proprietor in the year 1052. He had two sons, Richard and Walter, both of whom, from the rolls of Battle Abbey, appear to have come into England with William the Conqueror. After this monarch gained possession of the throne, he rewarded his followers; and to Sir Walter Vernon he assigned several lordships in Cheshire: it is probable that the village of Vernon, near Sandbach, in that county, took its name from him. The elder brother appears also to have been settled, soon after the conquest, in Cheshire.

Edward Vernon, the subject of the present article, was descended of a second branch of the family of Vernon, in Staffordshire: his father was secretary of state in the reign of King William, and represented Penryn, in Cornwall, in the parliaments of 1695, 1698, 1705, and 1707; he continued to sit for the same place till the Duke of Marlborough's party began to lose ground in the year 1710.

Edward Vernon was born in Westminster on the 12th of November, 1684. Although the paternal estate of his father was not large, yet the emoluments of his situation as secretary of state, enabled him to give his son a good education. He seems at first to have intended him for a civil employment: at the age of seven years he was sent to Westminster school, then under the direction of the famous Dr. Busby; and it is said that he was one among the very few who passed through the school untouched by the very severe discipline of that master. It is also related that young Vernon very early in life manifested a strong and warm inclination to go to sea; and that he

spent much of his time in conversing with the watermen, and especially with such sailors as could relate to him the particulars of the battles in which they had been engaged, so that, among his school-fellows, he very early obtained the appellation of Admiral Vernon.

This inclination of his son could not be long concealed from old Vernon; at first, he was unwilling to satisfy it, and, endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to root it out of his mind; but perceiving that his son was determined to go to sea, and that the bent of his genius, as well as disposition, lay that way, he at last gave his consent. The line of life which young Vernon was to pursue, being now fixed, it was necessary to adapt his education accordingly; he was, therefore, taken from Westminster school, and applied himself with great application, zeal, and success to those studies which were connected with a maritime life. He was afterwards sent to Oxford, and under Dr. John Keil, the Savilian professor of astronomy, obtained considerable knowledge in that important branch of science. As his father was resolved to qualify him in the most complete and honourable manner, for his profession, on his return from the university, a private tutor was procured, under whom he studied the theory of navigation, and he afterwards perfected himself in fortification, gunnery, &c.

He was so fortunate as to first enter on the sea service under the command of Admiral Hopson, who greatly distinguished himself in the reign of King William; and he was in the *Torbay*, during that expedition, in which this admiral destroyed the French fleet and the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Vigo, on the 12th October, 1702. On this occasion, the *Torbay* had a very narrow escape from destruction; for after she had broken the boom, and cast anchor between two French men-of-war, a fire-ship was clapped on board her; her rigging caught the flames, and had it not been for a singular accident, the whole ship

must have been consumed : it so happened, that the fire-ship had been a merchantman laden with snuff, and fitted up on the emergency as a fire-ship : she blew up immediately, but the large quantity of snuff suffocated the flame, and prevented the dreadful havock that she was expected and intended to create. Vernon behaved so gallantly and so much to the satisfaction of Admiral Hopson, during the expedition to Vigo, that he particularly recommended him to the attention of the lords of the Admiralty.

As the French, though completely unsuccessful at sea in Europe, were rather formidable in America, Sir George Rooke dispatched Captain Walker there, in the *Burford*, with five third-rates and ten transports, having on board four regiments ; in this expedition, Mr. Vernon was a second lieutenant on board the *Resolution* : and while on this station, he made himself thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the Leeward islands, drawing plans of the harbours, and sounding the bays with great exactness ; the knowledge which he acquired at this time, he found afterwards very advantageous and serviceable to him.

In the year 1704, Mr. Vernon was with Sir George Rooke, when he convoyed the King of Spain to Lisbon, and he received from his majesty's own hand a hundred guineas and a ring. In the same year, he was present at the engagement which was fought off Malaga. He returned with Sir George Rooke to England, about the end of September, and as his share of the royal bounty, for the victory which had been gained, he received a purse of two hundred guineas from her majesty.

On the 22d of January, 1706, having spent the usual and necessary time in the subordinate situations of the navy, he was raised to the rank of captain, and appointed to the command of the *Dolphin* frigate. This vessel was ordered on the Mediterranean station, where Sir John Leake had the command : soon after Captain Vernon joined the fleet, the admiral removed him from the *Dol-*

phin, appointed him to the Rye, and sent him to England with the dispatches relative to the capture of Alicant. He returned to the Mediterranean in the same vessel, and joined the fleet again, which was now under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. About the end of the year 1707, this admiral left the Mediterranean for England, and Captain Vernon, who appears to have been then in the *Phoenix*, accompanied him: he, however, escaped the melancholy fate of his commander and most of his companions.

Soon after his arrival in England, he was made captain of the *Jersey*, a fourth rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and ordered to the West Indies, under the command of Captain John Edwards, who sailed with a reinforcement of two sail of the line (besides the *Jersey*,) for the squadron under Sir Charles Wager, who was then admiral on that station. He arrived there on the 24th of July, but on account of the approach of the hurricane season, does not appear to have been ordered to sea, till the month of January, 1709. The reinforcement, of which the *Jersey* formed a part, had been sent out to Sir Charles Wager, in consequence of intelligence, that a powerful squadron, under the command of that enterprising and successful French officer, Du Guai Trouin, was likely to attack our commerce and possessions in the West Indies; but the alarm, which this intelligence had created, having subsided, Sir Charles Wager dispatched several vessels of his fleet to cruise against the enemy: of these the *Jersey* was one, and Captain Vernon distinguished himself greatly on this occasion, by his activity, enterprise, vigilance, and success. The very month that he was first sent to sea, he captured a Spanish sloop laden with tobacco, and retook from the French, a Guinea ship, with four hundred negroes; he also took a strong merchant ship, of four hundred tons and twenty guns, laden principally with cocoa and wool; and, on the north side of Cuba, a small vessel

of one hundred tons, laden with indigo and sugar; but his most important capture was, a vessel belonging to Brest, of thirty guns and one hundred and twenty men. On the 20th of February, in the following year, he ran a French ship of twenty guns on shore, where she went to pieces. He was, however, while on this station, principally employed by Commodore Littleton, in ascertaining the force, and watching the motions of the enemy's squadron in Carthagera; and, in consequence of the information that he gave, the vice-admiral of the galleons was taken.

In consequence of the peace of Utrecht, Captain Vernon was very little employed for some time, and had consequently no opportunity of distinguishing himself, in his profession, and little chance of rising in it. He was, however, employed in the year 1714, having then the command of the *Assistance*, one of the fleet which was sent to the Baltic, under Sir John Norris, to join the Russians against the Swedes. This vessel, he commanded for three or four years: she was one of the fleet which convoyed the king from Holland in the month of July, 1716; and, in the following year, he was sent with her into the Mediterranean. In 1726, he was captain of the *Grafton*, a third rate of seventy guns, which formed one of the armament that was sent, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, to join a Danish squadron in the Baltic, in order to prevent Russia from disturbing the peace, or attacking the independence of that part of Europe.

We are now to consider Captain Vernon under a new character. In the year 1722, he was chosen member of parliament, both for Dunwich, in Suffolk, and for Penryn, in Cornwall; he made his election for the latter place, probably because it was that which his father had so long and so frequently represented. He does not, however, appear to have distinguished himself in this parliament; indeed, during the greatest part of its duration, he was, in

all probability, engaged in his professional employment. On the death of George I. a new parliament was, according to custom, assembled; and in this Captain Vernon again sat, as member for Penryn. He soon discovered the tone of his politics, and the line of conduct that he meant to follow. Sir Robert Walpole, not affording the opposition any ground of complaint, invective, or censure, by engaging in unjust, expensive, or unsuccessful wars, was most violently attacked by them, because he had the wisdom and the good sense to keep the nation at peace. It may be, that in order to secure this blessing, he somewhat, on some occasions, compromised the dignity and honour of his country; but it so rarely happens, that a prime minister is a sincere friend to peace, or, if so, is successful in his endeavours to maintain it, that the nation, blessed with such a minister, should not repine or be indignant at a few sacrifices which he may deem necessary for this most important and desirable purpose. At the head of the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's pacific measures, at the time when Captain Vernon sat in parliament, were Bolingbroke and Pulteney; men, certainly of superior powers of mind, but whose talents were less questionable than their patriotism and sincerity. Shippen also opposed Sir Robert Walpole; but it required only a small share of discrimination to discern, that Shippen was a man of a very different stamp, from either Bolingbroke or Pulteney. There was a downrightness about Shippen, that strongly spoke in his favour; his own interest, the gratification of his own feelings, the desire to render the minister unpopular and himself popular, or the paltry and narrow love of party, never influenced him. He might be mistaken in his opinion respecting the character and tendency of Sir Robert Walpole's politics and measures; but that opinion he had formed cautiously and deliberately; he sincerely believed it to be correct; and on it, thus formed, and thus believed to be sound, he most con-

scientiously acted. We are afraid that Captain Vernon must rather be classed, so far as motives and views are concerned, with Bolingbroke and Pulteney, than with Shippen, notwithstanding one of his biographers has most decidedly done him the honour of classing him with the latter. Shippen, he certainly resembled in the directness and warmth of his attacks on the minister; and if sincere and pure patriotism, unmixed with selfish or improper motives, may safely be inferred, from mere directness and warmth in debate, Captain Vernon may be supposed, in his opposition to Walpole, to be actuated solely by a love for his country; but, it may fairly be questioned, whether before this praise is bestowed, more must not be proved than violence of temper, and impetuosity of feeling.

Captain Vernon was very fond of speaking in the House of Commons; his speeches are distinguished for strong and overcharged representations of facts; for argument rather pithy, than regular and systematic; and for declamation, which trusted more to coarse language, than to eloquence; and to warmth, rather than elegance of manner. He was seldom at a loss for words, though they were not always the best chosen, or the most classical. In short, his speeches in the house, on all subjects, on which he delivered his sentiments, proved him to be a man of strong natural talent, unchecked by suavity of manners, and undisciplined by education, or literary habits. As he was not to be silenced or daunted by the arguments or the tone of any thing uttered by the minister, but renewed his attacks with unabated confidence, he made some impression on the house, and a considerable impression on the nation, especially when the subject under discussion related to maritime affairs. The minister, therefore, was very desirous of getting him out of the house; and it was not long before his natural impetuosity afforded him an opportunity of effecting it. In one of his most violent and unguarded speeches, he broadly asserted, that the whole

Spanish West India possessions might easily, and in a very short time, be reduced under the dominion of England; and, in a more particular and express manner, he maintained, that Porto Bello might be reduced by six sail of the line, and that with this force, he would undertake the enterprise, and forfeit both his reputation and his life, if he should prove unsuccessful. As this force was considered by the minister as totally inadequate to the reduction of Porto Bello, he took Captain Vernon at his word, and probably with no very charitable expectation, that the enterprise would terminate in his disgrace, resolved to employ him on it.

At the time when Sir Robert Walpole came to the determination of sending Captain Vernon against Porto Bello, the latter resided in the neighbourhood of Chatham; and it would seem, from a speech of the Earl of Chesterfield, delivered after the reduction of Porto Bello, and during the noon-tide of Vernon's popularity, that he employed himself in attention to agricultural pursuits; for that noble lord compares him to Cincinnatus, taken from the plough. Before, however, he could be employed, it was necessary to advance his rank; he was accordingly made vice-admiral of the blue on the 9th of July, 1739; and, it is said, that when the messenger who carried the packet, announcing his promotion, and his appointment to the command of a fleet against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies and America, arrived at Chatham very early in the morning, Vernon, totally unapprised, and unsuspecting of the honour that awaited him, could scarcely be persuaded of the truth of what he read. As soon, however, as he convinced himself that his promotion and appointment were real, he ordered a post chaise to be got ready, and arrived at St. James's about ten o'clock the same morning.

On the 19th of July Admiral Vernon received his final instructions, under his majesty's sign manual, "to destroy

“ the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and to distress their shipping by every method whatever.” He requested only three days to settle his domestic affairs, and during this period, the equipment of the fleet which it was proposed to send out with him was completed; it consisted of four ships, of seventy guns each; three of sixty guns, one of fifty, and one of forty guns. Admiral Vernon hoisted his flag on board the *Burford*. The fleet sailed from Portsmouth on the 23d of July, but it did not get clear of the Channel till the beginning of August.

During this time, he was very attentive to the discipline of his men: a very large proportion of them were raw and inexperienced; they were therefore exercised in the different manœuvres, both of the ship and of the guns, which they might be required to perform during their voyage, and on the intended enterprise. He found his men, indeed, so unfit for the duties of their situation, and especially so inadequate to discharge those duties in the arduous and perilous circumstances in which he was likely to be placed, that he considered himself bound to send a strong representation on the subject to the Duke of Newcastle. In this he expressed his regret, that there were not on board of each ship a company of foot of regular troops, which not only would have strengthened their numbers, but also very materially have served as an incitement and example to the seamen and marines, in the use of their arms. His impression on this point seems to have been so very strong, that he suggested a proposal scarcely practicable, and of which, if the practicability were fully ascertained, the necessity and advantage may fairly be questioned; he represented the adequate and complete manning of the ships to be so extremely difficult, that if war should break out with France, as well as Spain, it might be proper and absolutely requisite to convert most of the marching regiments into marines.

Having found it necessary, during his voyage, to station

three of his vessels to watch a squadron of the enemy, and these vessels not having joined him at the time he expected, while he received intelligence that the French squadron had sailed for the West Indies, he wrote a strong letter to the Duke of Newcastle, in which, after pressing for a reinforcement, to enable him to meet the enemy, and declaring, at the same time, his fixed resolution, even with his inadequate force, to attack them, he concludes with these words: "Your grace must bear a part in the censure, if I am too weak for the work assigned me."

On the arrival of Admiral Vernon at Jamaica, which took place about the middle of October, he learnt that the information respecting the Ferrol fleet was incorrect, as neither it nor any of the galleons were ready to sail from Europe: that the fair at Porto Bello had not yet begun; and that no ship would sail till after Christmas. As, therefore, he had sufficient time, he devoted it most zealously and unremittingly to the refitting of his fleet; and settled such measures with Governor Trelawney, as he conceived would benefit the intended expedition. The governor sent him as many soldiers as he could spare, and for some days before the fleet sailed, he laid an embargo on the vessels in Port Royal, and the other ports in Jamaica.

On the 5th of November Admiral Vernon put to sea; and on the 7th he delivered out his orders respecting the dispositions for attack, in which he particularly dwelt upon the necessity there was, on account of the inexperience of the men, of taking great and unusual precaution, in order to prevent hurry and confusion, and a fruitless waste of powder and shot; and he expressly ordered the officers to see, before any gun was fired, that it was properly levelled and directed: all hollowing and irregular noise were also prohibited, as likely to throw the

men into confusion. On the 20th of November the squadron came in sight of Porto Bello, and soon afterwards the admiral made the signal to come to anchor, at the distance of about six leagues from the shore. On the 24th, in consequence of the wind being in the east, he was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron castle. Captain Brown, in the Hampton Court, led the attack, and in twenty-five minutes fired nearly four hundred shot. He was so well seconded by the Norwich and the Worcester, that several of the Spanish officers and soldiers were observed to desert their station, and to seek for safety and protection in flight. As soon as the admiral perceived this, he made the signal for the boats to land, and he protected their landing, by luffing up to the fort as near as possible. As the boats passed near his ship, he called out to them to go directly against such of the enemy as were under the walls of the fort, in the front of the lower batteries; and though there was no breach made, a safe landing was effected, with the loss of only two men. As they had no scaling ladders, one man set himself close under an embrasure, whilst another climbed upon his shoulders, and entered under the very mouths of the cannon. As soon as the Spaniards, who had hitherto stood to the lower battery, witnessed this daring and fortunate intrepidity, they threw down their arms, fled to the upper part of the fort, and there displayed a white flag, as a signal that they had capitulated. While the Spaniards were thus seeking safety in flight, the sailors had entered the lower fort, and hauling down the Spanish flag, had hoisted the British colours in its stead: a few of the Spaniards still held out in a strong lodgment, but on the English firing a gun through the door, they called for quarter. The reduction of the Iron castle was soon followed by the capitulation of the castles of St. Jeronimo and Gloria.

It is scarcely possible to describe the joy, exultation, and hope of farther success and glory, which were excited throughout the whole nation, when the intelligence of Admiral Vernon's success reached England; an address was voted to his majesty by both houses of parliament, in which they congratulated him on the success of Admiral Vernon, "by entering the port, and taking the town of Porto Bello, and demolishing and levelling all the forts and castles belonging thereto, with six ships of war only." The thanks of both houses were also transmitted to Admiral Vernon; and the city of London presented an address to his majesty on this occasion, and voted the admiral the freedom of the city in a gold box. These, however, were but common and trifling marks of congratulation and gratitude, which other commanders had frequently obtained, compared with those which flowed from the great body of the nation: in their mouths, no name for a long time was heard, but that of Vernon; he alone, of all public men, received their unmixed and warm applause. It is highly probable, that this ebullition of public gratitude arose, not merely from the great success of the admiral with a force apparently so inadequate to the enterprise, but in part, at least, from that success having disappointed ministers, who, as we have observed before; looked rather to the degradation than the triumph of Vernon. There were also other circumstances, which contributed to enhance and endear this conquest in the opinion of the nation; a Spanish war at that time was popular, the majority of the nation expected from it, if successful, wonderful wealth; the idea, that whoever possessed Spanish America must roll in riches, was still prevalent; and this idea, joined to a detestation of the Spanish character, which was then common, undoubtedly raised the merit and importance of Admiral Vernon's conquests in the eyes of the nation at large.

It has always been a characteristic of British bravery, that it is united with at least an equal portion of humanity; and that after it has succeeded, in conquering an enemy, it no longer considers him in that light, but in the light of a fellow-creature, having a demand on the offices of protection and tenderness. Admiral Vernon proved by his conduct towards the fallen foe, that he was a real British seaman; he issued strict orders, and these orders he took special care should be obeyed, that the several captains should not send any boat ashore without an officer, for whose conduct they should be responsible; that no plunder of persons or effects should be permitted, and that whoever attempted it, should not only be punished for an infraction of the articles of capitulation, but be deprived of their share of the several captures, "that" "were secured as a reward for their gallant discharge of" "their duty." In consequence of these orders, and of the example which the admiral set, in his intercourse with and behaviour to the Spaniards, the English soldiers and sailors and the enemy appeared like friends; the former dismissed from their conduct every thing that indicated they were the conquerors, and the latter soon lost the feeling of inferiority that their conquest had at first produced. But still more important and beneficial circumstances resulted from the politic and humane line of conduct which Admiral Vernon recommended and pursued: in consequence of the general antipathy of the Spaniards against the English as heretics, which had been greatly increased in America by the depredations and profligacy of our privateers, they regarded us with sentiments and feelings of the utmost horror, and anticipated from our conquering them nothing but barbarity and cruelty; they were therefore most agreeably surprised, when they found humanity had her favourite abode in the breasts of English seamen; and especially, when they experienced

from their victorious foes, that protection and humanity which their own countrymen had refused them; for on the night preceding the surrender, the crews of two large guarda-costas, and a sloop of war, which were then lying in the harbour, had plundered the inhabitants, and committed the most disgraceful and shocking outrages.

While Admiral Vernon continued at Porto Bello, having learnt that some of the factors and servants of the South Sea company were confined at Panama, and that their personal effects, as well as those belonging to the company, had been also seized, and were detained there, he wrote to the governor of that place, demanding their releasement, and the restoration of the property; and the governor replying in an evasive and trifling manner, the admiral sent him another letter, couched in the strongest terms, and concluding thus: "Health and prosperity to
" all true Spaniards, who may lament sacrificing the true
" interest of their country to the ambition of an Italian
" queen." The governor, though highly irritated, did not think it prudent to irritate Admiral Vernon any further, and therefore released the people, though he refused to restore the property.

On the 13th of December Admiral Vernon sailed from Porto Bello; and having refitted his ships at Jamaica, left that island, on an expedition against Carthagena, on the 25th of February, 1740. He had written home, requesting, in very urgent terms, a supply of stores, as without a full and speedy supply, his fleet would be rendered useless and inactive. Besides writing to the Duke of Newcastle, he also dispatched a letter to Sir Charles Wager, in which he mentions his design against Carthagena, and his further thoughts of proceeding against the Havanna and La Vera Cruz, if circumstances should render it prudent: in this letter, he also gives his opinion, pretty much at large, on the mode which had then been lately adopted,

with regard to rigging the king's ships: according to him, they were over-masted, and in this state, he observes, they must be pressed down in the water, and consequently meet with great resistance from it; so that, when a ship was going on a wind, it would be much better if she were under-masted, than over-masted; and when she was going large, if under-masted, she would at least sail equally well, as if she were over-masted. He also offered another improvement: "I think," says he, "that it would be a great preservative to masts and rigging, to have the low yards fixed with flying parrels, because this would preserve the rigging from being racked to pieces, by tracing the yards, and give opportunity for striking a topmast, with the low sails standing, and contribute to a ships sailing, by not being too much bound."

In these remarks, he may be probably right; at least, they were given in a modest and mild manner: but, in a letter which he wrote to the Admiralty, after noticing the rough weather that he met with, in his passage from Porto Bello, and attributing the disasters he encountered from it, to the circumstance of the ships being over-masted, the natural warmth and irritability of his temper rather displays itself. He charges the officers of the yards, whose duty it was to send out stores for the ships on service, with having sent old lumber, totally unfit for the purposes for which it was designed. In this letter, he also indulges that fondness for scheming, which seems to have been a part of his character; for after pointing out the inconveniency and ill consequences of an hospital for sailors in a place abounding with punch houses, &c. to which places the sick crawled as soon as they were able to get out, and thus retarded their recovery, or absolutely destroyed themselves, he proposed a model for an hospital to be built of wood, after the manner of the *canes* at Smyrna; viz. a large square building to be erected in the

country, with only one outside door, and that to be so guarded, that no one could pass without strict and proper examination.

On the 3d of March, Admiral Vernon's squadron anchored in the open bay near Carthagena, and on the 16th he began to bombard the town. Considerable damage was done; but the force being totally inadequate to the reduction of so strong a place, he sailed for Porto Bello on the 10th of March. Don Blas, the governor of Carthagena, had charged the English admiral with cowardice, for dismantling Porto Bello, and had threatened him with retaliation, wherever he met him. Some correspondence had passed between them before Admiral Vernon sailed against Carthagena; and the admiral, in his dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle, in which he gave an account of his success against Porto Bello, alluding to this correspondence, observed, that the charges of the governor would be best answered from the mouths of his mortars, "which may instruct him where to find me, if he continues in his heroic disposition." In his subsequent letter to the Duke of Newcastle, respecting the bombardment of Carthagena, he says that he has done enough to awaken Don Blas, and to let him know that he was not stealing upon him by surprize. The expedition seems wholly to have been undertaken, for the purpose of examining closely and carefully, the state of defence in which Carthagena was; and for settling the consequent plan of attack which it might be proper and prudent to adopt; and in conformity with this idea, Admiral Vernon, on leaving this place, coasted the shore towards Bocca China, and made such observations as he thought would be useful and advantageous.

As soon as his squadron was refitted and watered, he left Porto Bello, and proceeded, in the first instance, against the castle of Chagre, which lies at the entrance of a river of the same name, a short distance from Porto

Bello. The castle having withstood the bombardment for two days, surrendered ; and the admiral having destroyed the fortifications, and taking on board his fleet, the plate, merchandize, &c. which were of very considerable value, sailed again for Porto Bello; whence, being greatly in want of stores, he shortly afterwards directed his course for Jamaica, where he expected to find, not only a supply of them, but a reinforcement of ships and troops.

On the 9th of January, 1741, he was joined by the expected reinforcement: his fleet now consisted of thirty-one sail of the line. The reinforcement was under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle; the land forces, amounting to upwards of ten thousand men, had been placed under the command of Lord Cathcart, whose military character was very high, both for talent and experience: but he dying soon after his arrival in the West Indies, the command of the troops devolved upon General Wentworth. He was most undoubtedly inferior to his predecessor, in every essential requisite of a general; but it may justly be questioned, whether he deserved the opprobrious and low character which was afterwards bestowed upon him: according to the political writers of the day, he was an officer without experience, resolution, or authority, and utterly unqualified for the important station of commander-in-chief; and who was indebted for his rise in the army, and his appointment to this high and arduous post, entirely to his parliamentary interest. Although there probably was some ground for these accusations, yet we ought to bear in mind, that he and Admiral Vernon were at utter and open variance, during the whole of the expedition against Carthagena;—that the general disliked the admiral, and the admiral had a thorough contempt for the general;—that the former attributed the ill success of the expedition entirely to the want of talent and enterprize of the latter;—that the nation, already raised to the highest pitch of expectation by Admiral

Vernon's success against Porto Bello, anticipated only additional glory from his attack against Carthagena; and that therefore, when the intelligence of its failure arrived in England, they were naturally disposed to vent the feelings of their indignation and disappointment against the military commander, rather than against him who had been formerly successful, and whom, therefore, they regarded with a partial eye; and that this disposition to censure General Wentworth, would be strongly encouraged, because it seemed justified by Admiral Vernon's complaints against him. If we take these things into account, we probably shall not join in all the censure lavished against General Wentworth, though the history of his whole behaviour before Carthagena, too clearly proves that neither his talents nor his experience qualified him for his station.

Admiral Vernon himself has not escaped censure, both on account of the delay which took place at Jamaica, in re-victualling and equipping his fleet, and when he actually put to sea, for having determined to beat up along the coast of Hispaniola, instead of directing his course for the Havannah. It is supposed, if he had proceeded immediately against the place, it must have fallen into his power, speedily and easily, as it was by no means provided with the means of withstanding so formidable an attack. The real state of the case seems to have been, that Admiral Vernon had set his mind on the reduction of Carthagena, and therefore, when the fleet did arrive off Hispaniola, it was determined, in a council of war, not to attempt the latter, but to proceed against the former place. The events and operations which occurred before it, have been already detailed; at first they were so successful, that the admiral dispatched an express to England, announcing his good fortune, and anticipating the most complete success. The nation received this intelli-

gence with the most unbounded joy, which, however, was soon extinguished by the subsequent information that was received from Carthagenæ. What had been hitherto accomplished, had been accomplished by the valour and enterprize of the sailors; the little done by the general, had been ill done; and when it became necessary that the land forces should co-operate more extensively and materially, the two commanders differed most decidedly respecting the mode of attack. Admiral Vernon, of a warm and irritable temper, flushed with the triumphs he had already achieved, and the consequent glory and fame which he had acquired, was indignant, that his future fame should be exposed to tarnish, from the timidity, irresolution, and inadequate talents of the general; while the latter was equally indignant that a naval commander should presume to direct him, in the planning and execution of an enterprise, chiefly of a military character. Admiral Vernon pressed on the general the necessity of reducing the forts, without delay, or attending to the usual methods, by dint of direct assault. The general, either deficient in skill or in bravery, or convinced that such an undertaking would be attended with a certain serious loss, and with very problematical advantage, at first refused to accede to the request of the admiral, that the forts should be stormed; but at length, he ordered a detachment of one thousand two hundred to attempt the fort by escalade: this force being repulsed, the dissensions between the commanders rather increased than diminished, the general citing the result of this attack as a proof that the admiral's opinion was erroneous, while the admiral blamed the execution of the plan, and not the plan itself. It is unnecessary to enter on the detail of this most unfortunate enterprise, or to point out the causes of its failure more particularly, as this has already been done by Dr. Campbell, whose observations will be allowed by

all competent and impartial judges, to be very fair and applicable, though couched in rather strong and pointed language.

When the fleet returned to Jamaica, it was resolved to make an attack on St. Jago, in the island of Cuba: on what ground Admiral Vernon thought this would succeed, after his failure before Carthagena, it is difficult to conceive. General Wentworth was still in the command of the land forces; and it was naturally to be expected that the same jealousy and ill will which had defeated the object of the former expedition, would operate injuriously against the success of the projected one: indeed, the admiral seems to have been so firmly convinced, that neither his own fame, nor the interest of his country could be served by his co-operation with General Wentworth, that he solicited to be recalled: but, being flattered by the letters of the Duke of Newcastle, who assured him that he was freed from all blame in the opinion of both the king and the nation, he unfortunately permitted himself to be persuaded to retain his command. Still, however, it is difficult to understand, how the mere conviction, that he was free from blame, should have contented such a man as Admiral Vernon; or why he should have been induced again to expose himself to a most probable failure, or to continue his connection with a man whom he despised, and whose unpopularity and want of success, was almost certain to tarnish his own fame.

At first they were successful in this enterprise against Cuba: the port of Walthenham was taken; and Admiral Vernon, with his usual confidence, in his dispatches home, led the nation to believe that the island could soon be reduced: but in the possession of this port, their success and conquest terminated. The general declared, that it would be impossible to penetrate by land from that place to St. Jago. A council of war confirmed this opinion; and on the 20th of November, the troops re-em-

barked, and the fleet sailed for Jamaica. Admiral Vernon again solicited his recall, and requested that his conduct during the expeditions against Carthagena and Cuba, might, without any delay, be most strictly investigated; till his recall was granted him, he would indeed discharge his duty, with the most scrupulous honour and diligence; “but under his daily prayers for a deliverance from being
“conjoined to a gentleman whose opinions he had long
“experienced to be more changeable than the moon,
“though he had endeavoured, agreeable to his orders, to
“maintain the most civil correspondence with General
“Wentworth.” In another dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle, he informed him, “that he could not be insensible
“how great a concern the disappointment in their several
“expeditions, must have been to his majesty; but begged
“leave, at the same time, to say, in behalf of himself,
“and the officers and men that had served under his
“command, that no part of the disappointment was justly
“to be attributed to the sea forces; nor did he think it
“was want of courage or inclination to serve his majesty,
“in the land forces; but that this unhappy event was
“principally owing to the command falling into the hands
“of General Wentworth, who had proved himself no
“ways equal to it. And though the vice-admiral pre-
“tended to little experience in military affairs by land,
“yet it was his opinion, if the sole command had been
“in him, both in the Carthagena expedition, and in the
“Cuba one also, the British forces would have made
“themselves masters of Carthagena and St. Jago, and
“with the loss of much fewer men than had died through
“the imprudent conduct of General Wentworth, in many
“instances.”

It is not easy to conceive what possible motive Admiral Vernon could have, to plan another expedition with General Wentworth, entertaining such sentiments as he did respecting his incapacity, and having twice experi-

enced that no good could result from their co-operation : yet another expedition was planned ; and a reinforcement of two thousand marines, and two ships of fifty guns and a frigate, having arrived at Jamaica in the middle of January, 1742, the admiral resolved to endeavour to wipe out the disasters and disgrace which had resulted from the attempts against Carthagena and Cuba, and to replace himself on that high eminence of public opinion on which he had stood immediately after his splendid and successful achievements at Porto Bello. It appeared as if the general and admiral were resolved, that this new enterprise should not be undertaken rashly, or without due and cautious deliberation : many councils of war were held ; various places were mentioned, and various schemes proposed : at length, it was agreed, that the forces should land at Porto Bello, and march across the Isthmus of Darien, for the purpose of attacking Panama. On the first view of this plan, it seems rash and impracticable ; and to require, for its full and successful execution, the coincidence and co-operation of many favourable circumstances, all of which could not fairly or prudently be calculated upon. The breadth of the Isthmus is not indeed great ; it had been crossed, not only by Sir Henry Morgan, at the head of a comparatively small number of Buccaneers, who succeeded in obtaining possession of Panama, with very little loss or difficulty : but also, as we have seen, by Dampier and his companions ; but in the former instance, it should have been recollected, that the very name of the Buccaneers carried terror along with it ;—that they came on the possessions of the Spaniards, in this enterprise, unawares ; and above all, that they were inured to hardships and fatigue ; whereas, in the case of the expedition we are now considering, the Spaniards were much more powerful and better prepared, and the British troops, though their valour and firmness were undaunted, were inexperienced in the difficulties

and hardships to which they would necessarily be exposed, in a march across the Isthmus. With respect to Dampier and his companions, their case was not at all similar to that of this expedition, and therefore could not properly be brought forward as an instance in point, to prove the practicability of the attempt.

In this third enterprise, as in the two former ones, Admiral Vernon was fated to have his hopes and expectations raised high at first, only to be dashed with more violence to the ground afterwards. Although the council of war which had determined on attacking Panama, had sate in January, the expedition did not sail till the middle of March: it consisted of eight ships of the line, five smaller vessels, and forty transports: the land forces amounted to three thousand effective men, besides five hundred negroes, raised by Governor Trelawney, who himself, with several volunteers, accompanied the expedition. The time of the year was ill chosen; contrary winds prevented the armament from arriving at Porto Bello till nearly three weeks after it sailed. As soon as the Spanish governor perceived the fleet, he abandoned the town, and marched with his garrison for Panama. This circumstance raised the warm and sanguine mind of Admiral Vernon; already, in his imagination and belief, all obstacles were overcome; all resistance at an end; it was only necessary to land the troops; the Isthmus would be passed in a very few days, without difficulty or opposition, and Panama would surrender at the sight of a British army. He was not a man to permit his hopes to be beaten down, by distant, uncertain, or obscure evils, nor willingly to admit into his calculation or foresight, any circumstance which did not encourage his hopes and support his opinion: he therefore, either did not advert to, or if he did consider them, he made light of the length of the march, the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, and the advanced season of the year.

Having seen so much achieved by spirit and activity, he thought with them that men, and especially Britons, could surmount every obstacle, guard themselves against all dangers of every kind, and make themselves masters of whatever they determined to obtain. He was therefore most exceedingly mortified and indignant, when, in a council of war, it was resolved to give up the enterprise, and immediately reembark the troops. It was in vain that it was represented to him, that the force of the army was much reduced by sickness; that several of the transports with troops had not arrived; and that there was reason to believe that the garrison of Panama had received a considerable reinforcement, besides that which had joined it from Porto Bello. The admiral's mind and feelings were not in a state coolly and impartially to weigh these circumstances and representations; he had worked himself up to the firm belief, that if he had the sole command, the Isthmus of Darien would be crossed, and Panama taken with little resistance and difficulty; and he therefore listened to the arguments of the council of war with incredulity and contempt. He remonstrated against their decision, but his remonstrances were in vain; and the troops were reembarked a few days after they landed. About the middle of May, the armament arrived at Jamaica; and on this station he continued to command, but without performing or attempting any thing of the least magnitude or importance, till the middle of October, when, in consequence of orders from England, both he and the general returned home.

That two men, so utterly and irreconcilably discordant, should have been continued so long in the same command; that they should have been allowed to tarnish the character of the British arms, and waste British blood and treasure in expeditions, which their mutual dislike was certain to render unsuccessful, is a serious charge against the ministers of the day, from which no information that

we at present possess, nor any charitable supposition, can possibly exculpate them. It can hardly be supposed that their motive and object were to ruin the popularity of Admiral Vernon; it is more candid, and at the same time more feasible, to suppose that inattention, or the pressure of concerns either personally or publicly more urgent and important, was the cause of their permitting Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth so long to mismanage the expensive and powerful armaments which were entrusted to their care and command.

During the whole period that Admiral Vernon acted with General Wentworth, the characteristic qualities of his mind were in full action: we have already noticed his conduct generally, so far as it was more immediately connected with the historical detail; we shall now investigate it more closely, as depicting his character; for in the lives which we profess to give of eminent British seamen, their private and professional character should be primarily and principally attended to; their public and professional actions belong more strictly and properly to the historical department of our work.

There is no evidence that the character of Admiral Vernon displayed itself in its true colours, till he became a member of parliament; then, as we have already remarked, it was exhibited most completely and conspicuously: and the same features, of which, from his speeches and conduct in the House of Commons it was evidently composed, were displayed during the whole period of his command in the West Indies, and more strikingly and fully during the time he acted in conjunction with General Wentworth.

In his successful attack on Porto Bello, he displayed his professional character, which was more distinguished by downright and direct bravery, that depended almost entirely on vigour and activity, than by that mixture of foresight, comprehension, coolness, and bravery, without

which the last quality loses much of its merit, and will not often succeed in obtaining its object, or its just commendation and reward. This characteristic bravery of Admiral Vernon was raised even above its natural pitch, by the recollection of the circumstances, under the influence of which he came to the attack of Porto Bello: he had volunteered his services on the occasion; he had not only volunteered his services, but he had undertaken its conquest with a smaller force than was generally believed adequate to the enterprise: he could not suppose that he was a favourite of ministers, and, without a want of candour, he might suspect that ministers rather anticipated his disgrace than his glory in the enterprise he had thus challenged for himself. Besides these considerations and motives, which must have sharpened his natural bravery, he could not but be sensible that the eyes and expectations of the nation were riveted on him; as an opponent of ministers in the House of Commons, and more particularly by the violence and point of his harangue, he had directed their attention towards himself. That part of the nation which considered the politics and the plans of the ministry as objectionable or dishonourable, regarded Admiral Vernon with complacency; at first, as the champion of their cause in the House of Commons, and afterwards, to that feeling of partiality and complacency was added, the hope that his success would confound ministers, and exalt the national character: on the other hand, that part of the nation which coincided in opinion with the ministry, would not be indisposed to make little of the national loss and despair, if Admiral Vernon failed in his enterprise, as from this failure the ministry would derive argument and justification for the line of policy they had adopted, and the voice of clamour and opposition would be put down. All these considerations must have weighed with Admiral Vernon, and

induced him to put forth into complete and uninterrupted action all the qualities of his mind, which were necessary to secure the reduction of Porto Bello.

Several circumstances were favourable to the admiral in this attack, which did not exist or operate in his subsequent enterprises: in the first place, he depended almost entirely upon himself, and upon the naval force under his command; there could be no rivalry, jealousy, or difference of opinion: the sailors were eager to follow the enterprising spirit of the admiral; he took advantage of this feeling, and he was successful: but, in the second place, it may fairly be questioned, whether, though the admiral depended principally upon himself and his naval force, he would have obtained such an easy and speedy conquest, if the Spaniards had not displayed the most disgraceful and consummate cowardice.

In the subsequent operations in which Admiral Vernon was engaged in the West Indies, he did not take into account all these causes of his success at Porto Bello; and this points out to us one of the distinguishing features of his character: either from a warm, impetuous, and sanguine temper, or from a mind deficient in comprehensive, as well as minute sagacity—or from both these defects co-operating, he never viewed any enterprise in all its bearings; nor could he derive all that advantage from experience, which to a man of a different temperament, and a more enlarged and deliberating mind, it so generally gives. If he had once been successful in an enterprise, he expected and reckoned upon similar success, without duly weighing all the circumstances of the two cases; believing courage alone to be the grand cause of success; he thought, that whenever there was courage brought into action with activity and vigour, there success must be attained. It is therefore very probable, that even if he had had the sole direction of the enterprises against

Carthagena and Cuba, they would have failed; the Spaniards were prepared for our attacks, and therefore they ought to have been made with more caution, and in a more regular manner than they had been at Porto Bello: but before the latter place Admiral Vernon had displayed little, except bravery; he had given no indication that he was adequate to an enterprise, when considerable talents, a cool temper, and methodical science, were, at least, as requisite and necessary as personal courage.

The failure of the attempts against Carthagena and Cuba has almost universally been ascribed to General Wentworth; and the general himself has also been regarded as solely to blame for the jealousy and ill-will which arose between him and Admiral Vernon: but the justice of both these opinions seems to us very questionable. As we have no historical evidence to proceed upon, except what comes to us much distorted by party spirit, we should entirely disregard it in examining these points, and direct our attention and investigation to the character of the two commanders. Of General Wentworth we know little, but what those who wished to justify or excuse Admiral Vernon have been pleased to communicate. Let us, however, suppose him not to have been exactly the proper person to co-operate with Admiral Vernon, or to command the armament entrusted to his care; yet we know, that where he was most pointedly and severely blamed by the admiral, he acted in conformity with the opinion of a council of war. We know, from the admiral's own detail of the operations he recommended, that in many instances they were impracticable, and in others would have been useless; as in the march across the Isthmus of Darien, and in proceeding from Walthenham, in Cuba, to St. Jago; and it is also certain, that General Wentworth, when recalled, was neither brought before a court martial, nor publicly accused by Admiral Vernon. We may therefore fairly conclude, that though General Wentworth was

unfit for his situation, yet it is equally probable, that the want of success attendant on the expeditions against Carthagera and Cuba, arose from the impolicy or impracticability of the plans, as from defects in their execution, attributable to the general; and it is abundantly evident, that the general was justified in the most important instances, where he refused to act according to the admiral's suggestions and advice.

With respect to the party on whom the blame ought to fall, on account of the ill-will that arose between them, when we reflect on Admiral Vernon's temper, on his constantly indulging his private feelings, unchecked by moderation, policy, or even regard for the public service, and perhaps the prejudice with which he viewed General Wentworth, as having obtained his appointment through his parliamentary interest, we shall be disposed to consider the admiral as at least equally censurable with the general.

While, however, truth and justice demand that we should exhibit the character of Admiral Vernon, as it displayed itself during his command in the West Indies, in this light it is but fair to take into our consideration those circumstances which must be allowed to palliate, and, in some degree, excuse his behaviour on this occasion. Both his desire to benefit his country, and to preserve and extend the reputation which he had acquired by the reduction of Porto Bello, and his persuasion (whether well or ill founded) that ministers did not equally feel this desire, either as it regarded the nation or himself, naturally led him to dread the failure of any subsequent enterprise on which he might be employed: he was undoubtedly, as a naval character, actuated by true patriotism, and this feeling, co-existing with a warm and sanguine temperament, and nourished by the proud recollection of what he had achieved, contrary to the forebodings of his enemies, and even beyond the expectations

of his friends, will always powerfully plead in excuse of his irritability, and his contempt of General Wentworth.

So convinced were the nation at large that Admiral Vernon was not in the slightest degree blameable for the failure of the attempts against Carthagera and Cuba, that his popularity continued undiminished, though not so glaring and obtrusive, as immediately after the reduction of Porto Bello. Soon after the intelligence of this event reached England, he was chosen member of parliament for Portsmouth, in the room of Admiral Stewart; and in the new parliament, which was elected in May, 1741, he was chosen for no fewer than three places, Ipswich, Rochester, and Penryn; and being proposed for Westminster, he had three thousand two hundred and ninety votes, while Sir Charles Wager, one of the successful candidates, had only three thousand six hundred and eighty-six, and Lord Sundon, the other, three thousand five hundred and thirty-three. From these circumstances, some opinion may be formed of his popularity at this time, and, as we have just observed, he continued to be a favourite with the nation till his death.

Having made his election for Ipswich, he took his seat in the House of Commons, and recommenced his attacks against the ministry. On the 9th of August, 1743, he was made vice-admiral of the red; but considering himself neglected and ill-used, he wrote a letter to Mr. Corbett, who was at that time secretary to the board of Admiralty, which, as it displays his character and feelings in the most lively and striking manner, we shall insert; for, in our opinion, that species of biography is the most entertaining, interesting, and instructive, where the subject of it contributes as much as possible to the delineation of his own character, and the unfolding and explanation of his own motives and conduct.

“ Nacton, June 30, 1744.

“ Sir—As we that live retired in the country often
“ content ourselves with the information we derive from

“ newspapers on a market day, I did not so early observe
“ the advertisement from your office of the 23d of this
“ month, that, in pursuance of his majesty’s pleasure, the
“ right honourable the lords commissioners of the Ad-
“ miralty had made the following promotions therein
“ mentioned, in which I could not but observe there was
“ no mention of my name amongst the flag officers,
“ though, by letters of the 10th instant, you directed to
“ me, as vice-admiral of the red, and (by their lordships’
“ orders,) desired my opinion on an affair for his majesty’s
“ service, which I very honestly gave them, as I judged
“ most conducive to his honour, so that their lordships
“ could not be uninformed that I was in the land of
“ the living.

“ Though the promotions are said to be made by their
“ lordships’ orders, yet we all know the communication of
“ his majesty’s pleasure must come from the first lord in com-
“ mission, from whom principally his majesty is supposed
“ to receive his information, on which his royal orders are
“ founded; and, as it is a known maxim in our law, that
“ the king can do no wrong, founded, as I apprehend, on
“ the persuasion, that the crown never does so, but from
“ the misinformation of those, whose respective provinces
“ are to inform his majesty of the particular affairs under
“ their care; the first suggestion that naturally occurs
“ to an officer, that has the fullest testimonies in his
“ custody, of having happily served his majesty in the
“ command he was entrusted with, to his royal approba-
“ tion, is, that your first commissioner must either have
“ informed his majesty that I was dead, or have laid
“ something to my charge, rendering me unfit to rise in
“ my rank in the royal navy, of which, being insensible
“ myself, I desire their lordships would be pleased to in-
“ form me, in what it consists, having both in action and
“ advice, always, to the best of my judgment, endeavoured
“ to serve our royal master with a zeal and activity be-

“ coming a faithful and loyal subject; and having hi-
 “ therto gained the public approbation of your board. I
 “ confess, at my time of life, a retirement from the
 “ hurry of business, to prepare for the general audit,
 “ which every Christian ought to have perpetually in his
 “ mind, is what cannot but be desirable, and might rather
 “ give me occasion to rejoice, than any concern, which (I
 “ thank God,) it does very little; yet, that I might not by
 “ any be thought to be one that would decline the public
 “ service, I have thought proper to remind their lordships
 “ I am living, and have (I thank God,) the same honest
 “ zeal reigning in my breast, that has animated me on all
 “ occasions to approve myself a faithful and zealous sub-
 “ ject and servant to my royal master; and, if the first
 “ lord commissioner has represented me in any other light
 “ to my royal master, he has acted with a degeneracy
 “ unbecoming the descendant from a noble father, whose
 “ memory I revere and esteem, though I have no compli-
 “ ment to make to the judgment or conduct of the son.

“ EDWARD VERNON.”

The Earl of Winchelsea was at this time first lord of the Admiralty. To this letter no answer was returned. During the session of parliament, in 1744, Admiral Vernon brought a bill into the House of Commons, for the more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's fleet: the house readily took it into their consideration, went into a committee upon it for two several days, but at last dropped it, by adjourning the debate, at the third reading, to a distant day. The following are the principal parts of this bill:—“ That from and after the first day of June,

“ 1744, the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of
 “ every parish in Great Britain, should, in the first week
 “ of every month preceding the quarter sessions, make out
 “ an exact list of all the seafaring men, seamen, &c. in
 “ their respective parishes; that this list, after being duly

“ certified on oath, should be presented at the next general or quarter sessions; and that a true copy should be sent by the clerk of the peace for the county, &c. within the space of thirty days, to the lords of the Admiralty; that the collectors of the customs, in every port, should, before any vessel sailed, demand and obtain from the commander, the names, ages, place of abode, &c. of every seaman on board his vessel; and that on the return of the vessel, this list should be compared with the account then given in by the commander, who should be required to give in a statement, in writing, respecting such seamen as might not have returned with him; that these accounts should be transmitted regularly, through the commissioners of the customs, to the lords of the Admiralty; and that when a number of seamen should be voted by parliament for the sea service, the Admiralty should, from the several returns made to them, nominate such proportionable numbers of men as should be requisite, who should be chosen by ballot; that at the end of their service for a year, they should be discharged, and be exempted from being called upon, till all such as were liable to serve, should have served likewise; but it should be lawful for any person so chosen, to procure another person to serve for him, but this person, so serving for another, was not to be exempt from serving in his own rotation.” There was likewise a clause, making it lawful for his majesty, on any great emergencies of state, to take into the public service, any foreign Protestant seaman. Soon after this bill was dropped, another was brought in, under the title of a bill “ for the better encouragement of seamen in his majesty’s service, and in privateers,” which passed in six days.

It will be seen by Admiral Vernon’s letter to the secretary of the board of Admiralty, that on the 10th of June his professional opinion had been asked, “ on an affair for his majesty’s service,” which he says, he very honestly

gave them, as he judged most conducive to his honour. This opinion is supposed to have given offence; and Admiral Vernon, in his own justification, published it in a pamphlet, entitled, "Admiral Vernon's Opinion upon the Present State of the British Navy, in a Letter to a certain Board." The question asked, it appears, was "Whether the present compliment of men allowed to a ship of sixty-four guns, being four hundred and eighty, and of three hundred men to a fifty gun ship, be a proper proportion of men, agreeable to the number and weight of guns, of thirty-two, eighteen, and nine pounders, for the sixty-four; and twenty-four, twelve, and six pounders for the sixty gun ship: or what number he (the admiral) thought necessary for ships of those classes?" Admiral Vernon, in the very outset of his pamphlet, betrays the peculiar feeling and temper of his mind; for he objects to the question, as drawn up in a very imperfect and unsatisfactory manner; and more than insinuates, that it was thus drawn up through ignorance and incapacity. He then proceeds to discuss the subject at length, and is decidedly of opinion, that we crippled our ships, by crowding them with guns, without any real conveniency arising from it. But, as we have adverted to this pamphlet, rather on account of the insight it gives us into the admiral's character, than of his particular opinions on the subject under review, we shall merely quote those passages which will be interesting and instructive, in the former point of view.

"I have given it," says he, "as my opinion, in private as well as in public, that the arbitrary power with which a half-experienced and half-judicious s—r of the navy hath been entrusted, had, in my opinion, half ruined the navy; and, I am sure I am far from being singular in my opinion; for I have been asked, whether I thought the navy would have suffered most by the loss of their battles against the French, or from his measures, which I

“ made a moot case of; but others have frankly said, they
“ should have declared their opinion against Sir J——b,
“ to whom I have no personal enmity, nor any personal
“ reasons for having it.

“ But as I think the basis and foundation of securing
“ to this nation the blessings of the Protestant succession,
“ and continuance of this royal family upon the throne,
“ principally consist in the support and maintenance of our
“ naval power; so I think the duty of an officer, and a
“ faithful and dutiful subject to my royal master, calls
“ upon me to avow my sentiments in this particular.”

The admiral then appeals to the noble person, to whose cognizance matters of this nature were chiefly referable, whether he did not mention to him his thoughts of what might be a proper method of serving his majesty effectually in that particular; and these thoughts, to the best of his recollection, were—

“ That the builders of the king’s yards, and the most
“ eminent of the builders of the merchants’ yards, should
“ respectively draw a plan of propositions for a ship of each
“ rank, and draw up his reasons in writing for the support
“ of his own plan; and then to be summoned together be-
“ fore their lordships, that every one might be admitted to
“ support his own plan, and to give answers to the ob-
“ jections each might have to make to what was proposed
“ by the other; by which I thought, a perfect plan might
“ be formed, which then should be given in orders to the
“ surveyor to see executed, which I take to be the proper
“ business of a surveyor.

“ But I fear, his usurping the whole direction, or his
“ having been permitted to do it, with his too much pride
“ and self-sufficiency to be capable of being better in-
“ formed, and too little good sense or solid judgment for
“ being capable of directing all himself, has made ours a
“ declining navy in the art of ship building, at a time
“ when both France and Spain have been greatly im-

“ proving in it. I think these are matters that require a
“ timely and serious consideration; and in that view I
“ joined with those who were for having such an enquiry
“ entered into, by a select committee of the House of
“ Commons; where it might have been carefully enquired
“ into, by the time, care, and application that such a
“ thing would require, if it had not been jockeyed off by
“ those who dislike all enquiries, though they may be
“ necessary, when those whose proper province it is,
“ seem to think it too much trouble for them.”

The pamphlet concludes with the admiral's professions of faithfulness and diligence in the service of the crown, in every post that had fallen to his lot, and that the same honest zeal reigning in his breast, still animated him.

On the 23d of April, 1745, he was promoted to be admiral of the white, and appointed to the command of a fleet that was to be stationed in the North Sea. Whether this promotion and command were in consequence of his complaints, and his strong speeches in parliament, or whether they proceeded from motives more honourable both to the Admiralty and himself, cannot be known: it has been indeed suggested, with much candour, and with considerable plausibility, that his having been hitherto passed over without promotion, “ is rather to be attributed to
“ the parsimonious manner in which promotions were
“ distributed at that time, than to any intentional neglect
“ of his merits; for almost on the first occasion of danger,
“ he was called into service, and entrusted with one of
“ the most consequential appointments ever committed to
“ the care of a British admiral.” The object of the fleet which he now commanded, was to watch the motions of the enemy, who were preparing to put to sea, in order to land the pretender in Great Britain. As soon as his squadron was equipped at Portsmouth, he removed his flag from the St. George to the Norwich, and sailed for the Downs, where he continued, except when cruising,

during the greatest part of the winter. On this occasion he displayed more cool and comprehensive foresight than might have been expected from him: indeed, as he was evidently, by nature, habit, and inclination, better fitted and disposed for active and downright exertion, than for mere vigilance, he deserves great praise for his conduct while he commanded on this station; since he disposed his vessels with so much judgment and effect, as to block up the French harbours, while, by a seasonable correspondence, he greatly animated the country people, who, from their confidence in his abilities, thought themselves secure from invasion while he guarded the coasts, and assured them it was impracticable.

Soon after his return from this employment, complaints were made against him before the lords of the Admiralty, that he had disobeyed their orders, by appointing a gunner in opposition to one recommended by themselves, and that he had exacted too severe duty from the private men. The Admiralty expressing their disapprobation of his conduct, the admiral replied to their remonstrance in very unbecoming and passionate language. He had now proceeded so far that he could not expect his conduct would be endured, and therefore he voluntarily quitted his command. About three months afterwards, in consequence of two pamphlets that he published, in which he inserted the letters he had received from the secretary and board of Admiralty, by his majesty's special command, he was struck off the list of admirals. From this period he lived wholly retired, concerning himself no way in public business, further than by retaining his seat in the House of Commons, as member for Ipswich. He continued to enjoy a good state health, living at his seat at Nacton, in Suffolk, where he died, rather suddenly, on the 30th of October, 1757.*

* The following extract of a letter from Admiral Vernon to the Duke of Bedford, first lord of the Admiralty, is interesting, as cha-

Admiral Vernon was rather low in stature, of a brown complexion, a piercing eye, and his look and gesture characteristic of the admiral, and as also throwing light on the circumstances and causes of his dispute with the Admiralty: it appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1746, pp. 80, 81, where are also given, extracts of two letters from the admiral, to the secretary to the Admiralty:—

“ As I am conscious I have done nothing ever justly to forfeit that good opinion that engaged your grace to honour me with your patronage and friendship, I entertain too good an opinion of your grace, to think I have not the continuance of it, notwithstanding the late incident of my being hunted out of my command by the operative malice of some malicious and industrious agent, that is too well screened over for my being able particularly to discover him, and point out who he is; so that must remain to me a secret, till some happy providence, in course of time, may more clearly discover it, not being, nevertheless, in my own mind, doubtful but I can trace the original cause of it, and guess, pretty nearly, at who may be the concealed director of it. As the pen of the secretary of the Admiralty conveyed these bitter shafts that were levelled at me, I thought it right to suggest, that his pen might be tinged with a gall flowing from his own mind, beyond the direction he might receive for it; from which, I thought it my duty to acquaint him, on a gentleman-like apology in regard to his office, which I was no stranger in its being his duty to obey, and on an assurance of a good will he had always professed, and I well know I had never given him occasion to alter the sentiments of a professed friendship for me.

“ One of the occasions taken to justify this conduct towards me, has been, that I had, within the Channel of England, on a ship's service being immediately wanted for proceeding to sea, and being without a gunner, (certainly a necessary officer for her defence) and which I could not think myself justified in permitting her to go to sea without, presumed, as it is called, to warrant a gunner to her, for to proceed to sea in her, as I judged it to be absolutely necessary, for his majesty's service and the defence of the ship.

“ Having now stated the fact, my sentiments are, that to support the necessary command of the officer the king had appointed, it was the government's interest that the commander-in-chief should name all officers that fell vacant, and has not been denied, while the depending service was essential: but pretences have been made from the Admiralty, that the ships were not assembled, or not under orders; and as checks are in their power, they have contradicted it, though always to the prejudice of the crown's service:

manding : he was remarkably strict, or rather, perhaps severe in his discipline ; naturally haughty, and impetuous in his temper, and sanguine in his expectations : his courage was unquestionable, and his abilities, as a seaman, though not as a naval commander, were considerable. It is unnecessary to expatiate further on his character, as, independently of the remarks which we have offered on it in the course of the narrative, it stands most conspicuously and prominently forth in all the principal actions of his life.*

“ for when the people in the fleet see their commander-in-chief can
 “ neither support their pretensions of merit, nor his own authority
 “ over them, they must naturally look after those who are no judges
 “ of their service, and this renders the commander contemptible to
 “ the fleet. This power is known to have been absolute in the com-
 “ mander-in-chief in the Channel, and in one who has added honours
 “ to your grace’s family ; and when that power has been wanting, it
 “ has, I believe, been always found prejudicial to the service of the
 “ crown, and prosperity of the kingdom.

“ I shall now only add, that I am at present detained here for
 “ having my baggage embarked, for proceeding to Harwich in one
 “ of the armed vessels, Vice-admiral Martin has been so obliging to
 “ assign me, to carry it to my house on the Ipswich river.

“ I propose at present, being in London by Thursday or Wednesday
 “ night : whenever it is, I shall be at your grace’s door the next
 “ morning after my arrival, in order to pay my duty to your grace ;
 “ and afterwards, before I set out for Suffolk, (if it has your grace’s
 “ approbation,) to be presented by you to pay my duty to his
 “ majesty : and the favour I shall now desire of your grace is, that
 “ your porter may have orders from you to let me in, if such a visit
 “ be agreeable to your grace ; and if not, that I may be told so, not
 “ to give an unnecessary trouble to you or myself.

“ E. VERNON.”

* Admiral Vernon is said to have been the first naval commander who mixed water with the spirits allowed to the seamen, and to have given to this mixture the name of *grog*.

MEMOIRS OF COMMODORE BARNETT.

OF the naval officer, whose memoirs we are now about to lay before our readers, though no very great or splendid actions can be recorded, yet it may be justly said, that his conduct throughout the whole course of his professional services was highly honourable to himself, and advantageous to his country. On this account, we have selected him as the subject of a memoir; for it would be absurd and vain to expect that all the naval officers whom we notice in the biographical division of our work, should be men of very superior merit, or raised high above their fellows by uncommon talents or success.

Curtis Barnett is supposed to have gone to sea very early in life; but the notices respecting him are both few and unimportant prior to the year 1726, at which period he was a lieutenant in the Port Mahon frigate, one of the fleet which had been sent into the Baltic under the command of Sir Charles Wager. The object of this fleet was to overawe the czarina; it consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire ships, and an hospital ship. As the business on which Sir Charles Wager was sent, was one that required great address and delicacy of management, united to a considerable degree of firmness and decision, we may be able to appreciate the talents and character of Mr. Barnett at this early period of his life and service, by the circumstance that he was entrusted with the dispatches to the czarina, and the Russian Admiral Apraxin. With them he sailed in the Port Mahon for Cronstadt, and conducted himself through the whole of this transaction in such a manner, as to give great and merited satisfaction to Sir Charles Wager, who from this time took him under his protection, exerted his interest in

his behalf, and honoured him with the most cordial and active friendship.

From the time that Sir Charles Wager returned from the Baltic, in the month of September, 1726, till the beginning of the year 1731, nothing occurred respecting Mr. Barnett in the least worthy of notice or remark. On the 26th of January, in the latter year, he was raised to the rank of post captain, and appointed to the command of the *Biddeford* frigate. In this vessel he appears to have continued between three and four years, when he was transferred to the *Nottingham*, a sixty gun ship, in which he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself, as she was, during the whole time of his command of her, employed solely as a guard ship. When hostilities with Spain commenced in the year 1739, he was captain of the *Dragon*, another sixty gun ship, and in her served under Admiral Haddock, in the Mediterranean.

Soon after he came on this station, he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself by the decision of his conduct, and his jealous and undaunted regard for the honour of his country. Admiral Haddock dispatched him in the *Dragon*, accompanied by another ship, nearly of the same force, on a cruise, during which he fell in with three large ships, to whom, under the idea that they were Spanish, he immediately gave chase. About midnight he came up with the sternmost vessel, which he immediately hailed, and in the most polite terms requested that they would bring to, as he wished to send his boat on board. This request he repeated, but without receiving any kind of answer; at last, after much delay, they answered they were French, and refused, in very blunt and positive terms, to comply with Captain Barnett's request. Upon this, Captain Barnett and his companion, Captain Balchen of the *Folkstone*, determined to act with decision, and accordingly a shot was fired across the bows of

one of the French ships. The Chevalier de Caylus, who acted as commodore, instantly gave orders for a broadside to be returned : the contest now began regularly on both sides, and it was kept up for some time with great spirit ; at length, after two hours fighting, daylight beginning to appear, the firing ceased, whether first on our side, or on the side of the French, is not accurately known. According to some accounts, as soon as Captain Barnett and Captain Balchen perceived that their opponents were really what they represented themselves to be, French ships of war, they gave orders for the firing to cease ; while other accounts state, that the French had suffered so very severely in the contest, that they first ceased firing : however this may be, mutual apologies passed between the captains, and the English vessels continued on their cruise, while the French were obliged to put into Malaga to refit. The loss of the French was very great, the captain of one of their ships and twenty-five men being killed, and seventy-five wounded ; the loss of the British was not nearly so great, there being only eleven killed, and twenty-two wounded : the masts and rigging of the Dragon and Folkstone were a good deal cut up, but not so much as to prevent them from keeping the sea. The behaviour of Captain Barnett on this occasion deserved and obtained great praise ; the ships to which he was opposed were considerably superior to him in force ; and it was probably from the consideration of this superiority, that the Chevalier de Caylus at first refused to answer when hailed, and afterwards answered in such an uncivil and improper manner ; but he had to deal with a man who well knew the rights of the British flag, and the duties of a British seaman, and who was resolved, at all risks, to uphold those rights, and discharge those duties. No feature in the character of a British seaman is more honourable and useful than this : as long as he feels himself disgraced by what he conceives to be the disgrace of his

country, and exalted by what he conceives to exalt it--as long as he identifies his honour and glory with its honour and glory, so long is he worthy the name of a British seaman, and so long is his country's interest and fame safe in his hands.

Captain Barnett continued to do his duty to the entire satisfaction of Admiral Haddock, while that commander remained on the Mediterranean station; but he was not so fortunate with his successor, Admiral Lestock. This gentleman seems to have thought that civility was totally incompatible with the duty of a British admiral, and that he could not uphold the dignity of his station, unless he exacted obedience in terms the most peremptory and harsh. Scarcely had Admiral Lestock assumed the command, when he issued an order, addressed to Captain Hodsoll, to go to the *Lenox*, *Nassau*, *Royal Oak*, *Romney*, and *Dragon*, and tell them, that he was the centre from which the line of battle was to be formed; that if any ship or ships could not get into their stations, it was his duty, as commander, to find a remedy for that; and that those who could, but did not, would incur his displeasure: he concluded this most singular epistle with the observation, that a line of battle was not to be trifled with or misunderstood, and with an order for Captain Hodsoll to go with the letter himself to the captains of the several vessels named in the beginning of it. In a postscript he added, that if an enemy were in sight, there would be no time or opportunity for such deliberation. The object and tone of this letter, as well as the manner in which it was expressed, and the mode of sending it, all plainly indicate the nature of the temper and disposition of the writer, and prove that he was by no means fit to act in the situation of commander-in-chief. It does not appear that the observations in the letter were in any respect called for by any irregular or disobedient behaviour on the part of the captains of the vessels to whom

it was addressed; and even on the supposition that they had acted improperly, and that advice, in the form of censure, was requisite, it surely might have been conveyed with more effect, in a more gentlemanly and decorous manner. Although the vessel which Captain Barnett commanded was the last named in Admiral Lestock's letter, yet he either individually, or, perhaps, at the request of the other captains, sent the answer. Admiral Lestock little knew the character of Captain Barnett, if he supposed that he would quietly submit to such peremptory and violent proceedings: the latter perfectly well understood his own duty, and had always discharged it to the utmost of his ability; he also knew the limits of the power of a commander-in-chief, and while he confined himself within that power, no man was less disposed than Captain Barnett to disobey or question the authority of the admiral: but besides he was an excellent seaman, not only so far as regarded the management and sailing of his own ship, but also in whatever respected the manœuvres and tactics of a fleet; and he particularly well knew that each ship in a division was bound not to leave the flag under which it was stationed, but to follow it under all circumstances. Under these impressions, he sent back a very short, but very clear and decisive reply to Admiral Lestock's letter. He began by stating, that he always thought that all the ships of a fleet or squadron were to sail in their proper divisions; that he had heard and read of divisions getting late into the line, but even this circumstance would not justify or excuse the captain of any particular ship for leaving his division, in order to get into the line in proper time, not even if he was convinced, that by keeping along with his division, he should not be able to take any part in the engagement: he then confessed his entire ignorance of the duty which Admiral Lestock, in his letter, seemed to require from the captains of the ships to which he had addressed it; since, according to this new system of duty,

they were without any particular order or signal, in certain cases, of the necessity of which they of course, as no order or signal was given, must be the sole judges, to leave the flag in whose division they were. Captain Barnett concluded with stating, that as he had been accustomed to act according to the established rules and usages of the service, he had kept his station in the division, without the least wish or idea, however, of trifling with the line of battle.

This reply, so cool, yet clear and decisive, in which Captain Barnett did not condescend to point out the ill consequences which must have resulted from the adoption of Admiral Lestock's plan, but contented himself with merely stating the established practice of the service, appears to have irritated the admiral exceedingly, and produced a reply as passionate and overbearing as the first letter, and, if possible, still more objectionable, from the ridiculous and ignorant observations which it contained. After recapitulating Captain Barnett's statement, he puts a case, the very case, indeed, which has been already supposed; viz. that the signal for the line of battle is made; that the commanding ship of one of the divisions, by bad sailing, could not get into the line, while all the other ships of the division could have got into the line, but did not, because their commander could not; in this case, Admiral Lestock remarks, the force of the fleet, when actually engaged, would be reduced one-third. This is sufficiently obvious. Having made this supposition, Admiral Lestock then triumphantly asks Captain Barnett, whether he considered it his duty to see two-thirds of the squadron sacrificed to the enemy, when he could and did not join the battle? Aware, however, that this reasoning would break through general rules, nowhere more necessary to be observed than in naval and military affairs, and by giving room for, or rather stimulating the exercise of private judgment, destroy all naval discipline, he weakens

the whole of his argument, and justifies Captain Barnett by the additional supposition, that an admiral, in such a case, would leave the bad sailing ship for one that could get into action, or send such orders as would justify a captain at a court martial for not coming into action when he could have done it. Having thus virtually acknowledged the truth and justice of Captain Barnett's remarks, he again adverts to the case which he supposed at the beginning of his letter: he expresses his hope, indeed, that no battle would ever be lost, from the captains of any division not joining in it, in consequence of continuing with their flag, but if a battle were so lost, he gave it as his firm belief, that the punishment inflicted on a breach of the twelfth article of the statute of Charles II. relative to those who withdraw, or keep back, or do not come into the fight, or engage, would be the unavoidable and just consequence.

To this letter, so contradictory in itself, and in one part of it, and that the part evidently most in unison with Admiral Lestock's opinion, Captain Barnett returned a most complete and satisfactory answer; as superior to the letter of Admiral Lestock, in the temper which it displayed, as in the reasoning and illustration which it contained. He first notices the insulting question, "Is it your duty to see two-thirds of the squadron sacrificed to the enemy, when you could and did not join in the battle?" To this he replies, that he would readily concur in punishing rigidly any man who could and did not join in the battle. "But," continues he, "as the commanders of divisions will, I imagine, always expect that the captains, in their respective divisions, should in such cases, take directions from them; and as we are to suppose every officer of that distinction neither wanting in zeal nor capacity, I can make no doubt, but such orders would be immediately given, as would be most essential for his majesty's service; and that a signal or

“ order might be expected to make sail into the line, if
“ the commander of the division could not get up with his
“ own ship, and did not think proper to remove into
“ another. Without such an order, or proper signal, I
“ could not, in my conscience, condemn any man for re-
“ maining with his division, or think that he fell under
“ the twelfth article of the statute of Charles II. or the
“ thirteenth of the fighting instructions: for a man, in his
“ station, cannot be said to withdraw, keep back, or not
“ use his endeavours to engage the enemy, in the order
“ the Admiral has prescribed. In this manner I should
“ judge, were I to sit at a court martial on such
“ an occasion.” Captain Barnett concludes this part
of his letter with expressing his determination no
longer to act in this manner, since Admiral Lestock
had informed him, that the commander of his divi-
sion had not the power either to change his ship or stop
him. He then adverts to cases, in which whole divisions
go down to the enemy too soon, or come in so late, as to
take no part in the action; in these cases, however, the
private captains who kept their stations, in those divi-
sions, did not fall under any censure: hence, Captain
Barnett, acting in a similar manner, was under no ap-
prehension of being blameable. The concluding paragraph
of the letter is so honourable to the writer, and displays
such a manly, dignified, and decorous tone of feeling, and
is, besides, so well expressed, that we shall lay it before
our readers in Captain Barnett’s own words:—

“ I hope nothing may ever with justice be said of me,
“ that will tell but ill to our country. I acknowledge my
“ want of experience through which I may mistake: but
“ I have too much respect for you to attempt to trifle,
“ and too good an opinion of your judgment and expe-
“ rience, not to be concerned, when I am so unhappy as
“ to misunderstand your orders, or so weak, as not duly
“ to weigh circumstances.”

Several considerations have induced us to dwell thus long and minutely on this correspondence between Admiral Lestock and Captain Barnett; in the first place, as we have already remarked, it unfolds the respective characters, both private and professional, of these two gentlemen, in a very ample and satisfactory manner: it displays, on the part of the admiral, an overbearing and impetuous disposition, with a most rigid determination to enforce obedience; and yet, either from irritability of temper, or an ignorance of his duty and of the rules of the naval service, he blames Captain Barnett for strictly adhering to the orders, and following the example of his superior officer; on the part of the captain, we perceive the superiority which coolness and consistency must always possess over violence, and those contradictions, into which violence, especially when accompanied with ignorance, must always hurry a person. Captain Barnett's character and conduct appears firm and manly; he knows what is due to himself, and he also knows what is due to his superior officer; and the persuasion, that by answering him in the same tone and manner in which his letters were written, would reduce himself to a level with his opponent, effectually guards him from the use of improper language. The style in which the letters of Admiral Lestock and Captain Barnett are respectively written, proves the latter to have been as superior to the former in talent and education, as the tone of them proves him to have been superior in gentlemanly conduct, and the arguments in knowledge of the rules and practice of the navy.

In the second place, the letters of Captain Barnett, illustrate in a concise, but clear manner, the duty of a naval commander, under the circumstances supposed; the paramount duty of all men engaged either in military or naval life, must be implicit obedience; very superior talents, or very extraordinary cases, may dispense with this duty; but even to suppose, that it could be dispensed with,

whenever the person concerned, thought a deviation from it would be more advantageous for the service on which he was engaged, would be to cut up by the roots all discipline.

Lastly, this correspondence, as remarked by Charnock, is singular, insomuch, that the principal points on which it turns, were nearly similar to those, which afterwards became the subject of dispute between Mr. Matthews and Mr. Lestock. "It appears," observes Charnock, "could we persuade ourselves to such a belief, that Mr. Barnett had an intuitive knowledge of what was hereafter to happen, and had been studying the proper rebuke for the admiral's conduct, when he made use of the following sarcasm:—"I presume there are instances, both of whole divisions going down to the enemy too soon, and of coming in so late, as to have no part in the action."

In the account of the engagement near Toulon, in the month of February, 1743-4, which Admiral Lestock presented to the House of Commons, he complains, that Captain Barnett's ship, the *Dragon*, along with the *Somerset*, *Princess*, *Bedford*, *Kingston*, *Guernsey*, and *Salisbury*, engaged at too great a distance, the *Poder*, a Spanish ship, next to the Spanish admiral's, second a-head: this charge, however, appears to have rested on no good foundation.

Soon after the battle of Toulon, Captain Barnett returned to England; and on the 5th of May, 1744, in consequence of an application from the East India company to the lords of the Admiralty, he sailed as commodore of a small squadron for the East Indies; this squadron consisted of the *Deptford*, of sixty guns, on board of which he hoisted his broad pendant; the *Medway*, of the same force, Captain Peyton; the *Preston*, of fifty guns, commanded by the Earl of Northesk; and a twenty gun ship. Besides the protection of the shipping and commerce of the East India company, there were other objects in con-

temptation in sending out this squadron; and from some papers published at the time, hopes seem to have been entertained, that the final and absolute ruin of the French East India company might have been effected by it. There were grievous complaints, that this company smuggled into England, East India goods, and thus injured both our revenue, and the British East India company; and as the French company had as yet acquired but little strength, and had moreover been weakened at the commencement of the war, it was expected that they would easily fall before such a squadron as that of Commodore Barnett's. The French East India company had been originally established in the year 1642, but for nearly eighty years, they had done very little; in 1720, a new company was formed; and in 1727, they began to carry on a considerable trade, having regular returns of three, four, five, and seven ships, their cargoes increasing in the same proportion; but, on the breaking out of the war between France and England, in 1744, the French monarch made use of part of the shipping of the East India company, and at the same time, withdrew the funds with which, during peace, he used to assist them, so that their stock fell fifty per cent. These circumstances, it was hoped, if seconded in their operation by a British squadron in the Indian seas, would essentially weaken, if they did not actually annihilate the French East India company.

On the 26th of May, Commodore Barnett arrived at Porto Praya, in the island of Jago; he found riding in the road a Spanish privateer, called the *Amiable Maria*, mounting fourteen carriage and twelve swivel guns, with seventy-nine men, and a pink, of about two hundred and fifty tons, under Spanish colours. At first he took no notice of them, as he was resolved not to violate the neutrality of the Portuguese port. He was, however, soon informed, that the pink was a prize of the privateer, which had also captured a brigantine, and two other English

ships, while they were at anchor in the isle of May, and that she had left the crews upon that island : on receiving this information, Commodore Barnett conceived it to be his duty to inform the Governor of Porto Praya, that as the Spaniards had thus notoriously and wantonly violated the neutrality of the island of May, he could not conceive himself bound to respect the neutrality of Porto Praya, with regard to them. Having given this intimation to the governor, he summoned the privateer and pink to surrender, which they accordingly did, and he took possession of them. His next object was to relieve the men who had been left in the isle of May, and for this purpose, he dispatched the pink thither. The brigantine had, in the mean time, driven out of Porto Praya road, and on his tender coming up to her, they found her without a single man on board, the Spaniards having escaped ashore to the town of St. Jago, where they reported, that after the brigantine drove out of the bay, the seven Englishmen, who were in her, rose upon them; that a bloody battle ensued, in which five of the English were killed, and the two others jumped overboard and were drowned; and that when they perceived the tender coming to them, they judged it proper to make their escape in the boat. Commodore Barnett put the proper masters and men in possession of the pink and brigantine, and gave them all the provisions and stores they laid claim to, together with their effects of all kinds, so far as he was able to recover them.

Such is the substance of the official account of this transaction; but the commander of the Spanish privateer, who called himself the Count Desueval, represented it in a different light, in a memorial which he published in London, whither he came, soliciting satisfaction from his Britannic majesty for his losses. Of this man, thus presented to our notice, we shall give such particulars, prior to his capture at Porto Praya, as this memorial furnishes; for, though it is quite evident, that he was an adventurer,

yet there is a daring originality in his character and schemes, that excites and gratifies curiosity. Besides, the first part of his memorial is necessary, in order to understand the grounds on which he maintained that he had been unjustly captured by Commodore Barnett, and sought satisfaction for his losses.

According to his memorial, he was a rear-admiral in the service of the King of Denmark, from the year 1721, till 1739; his countess was descended from the house of Rolinson, and allied to the greatest and most powerful princes of Germany; being of a restless disposition, in 1739, he determined to quit Denmark; and, from some cause which he does not explain, he directed his views particularly towards the empire of Abyssinia. He seems to have made himself acquainted, not only with all that had been written respecting this country, but also with the correspondence which had formerly subsisted between it and the court of Spain: this latter circumstance induced him to make his application to his Catholic majesty. After, therefore, having made known the nature and object of his enterprise to the King of Denmark, and obtained his consent, he repaired to Madrid, where the countess, entering fully and zealously into the views and plans of her husband, was of considerable service to him. The Marquis de Scoti, and Monsieur de Campillo, were directed by the king to learn from the count all the circumstances of the affair that had brought him to Madrid. After having maturely and scrupulously weighed the project, they were so satisfied of its practicability, and that the count had the requisite talents, information, and enterprise for carrying it into execution, that they honoured him with the commission of vice-admiral, with permission to hoist the Spanish flag, in such ships as he should think fit, granting to him, and all his officers, soldiers and seamen, the same privileges that the natives enjoyed. The Spanish ministers, at the same time, in-

formed the count, that they were disposed to supply him with shipping and money, but that the circumstances of the war would not allow it; he perceived, therefore, that he must either delay the execution of his project, or be at the expense of the enterprise himself; and conceiving that delay would be injurious to him on many accounts, he resolved to find the means to raise the armament; and the countess, who had determined to accompany her husband to Abyssinia, exerted herself to borrow money from her relations and friends. As soon as their Catholic majesties were informed of this resolution, they expressed their surprise and admiration at it, and ordered their ministers to furnish the count with the necessary dispatches, and to direct all the governors and intendants to assist them in all places, and with all things which they wanted. Having thus obtained the leave and countenance of the court of Madrid, the count proceeded to Malaga, where he purchased two vessels, and equipped them with every thing necessary; on their passage, however, from Malaga to Cadiz, the largest one was lost. On the 2d of May, 1744, the count and countess sailed from Cadiz on board the remaining vessel, called the *Amiable Maria*. On the 17th of the month, the weather grew very dark for two days successively, and the ignorance of the people on board was so great, that they could not ascertain where they were: on comparing their reckonings, the difference was so considerable, that some computed 30° to the eastward, while others computed 30° to the westward. Under these circumstances, the count resolved to steer to the eastward, as he thought himself more likely to find land in this direction, than if he should sail to the westward: on the morning of the 20th, the isle of May, one of the Cape de Verde islands was discovered, and the count directed his course for the harbour. Here the first symptom of suspicious conduct betrays itself; he did not approach the land under Spanish colours, but under Danish, because, he says, he did not wish to excite alarm in three

English ships, which he perceived at a distance. The events which immediately followed, are those on which he principally rested his claim on the court of London: he states, that notwithstanding he was thus sailing under a neutral flag, as soon as he came within gun-shot of the largest English vessel, she began to fire upon him, and though he only fired with powder to the leeward, in return, she continued her fire, both with her guns and musketry, crying out that she would sink the count's vessel, if he offered to advance any farther. On this the count states, that he formed the resolution, not only to act vigorously on the defensive, but, if possible, to capture his opponent; since, he considered, that she had violated the neutrality of the Portuguese territory in attacking him: he, therefore, hauled down his Danish colours, and hoisted those of Spain, at the same time, pouring in a fire of musketry, and his whole broadside; he succeeded in capturing the largest of the English vessels by means of his shallop, and afterwards the other two struck their flags.

On the 21st he landed, and inquired of the governor, what motive the English could possibly have to prevent him from entering the harbour: the governor replied, he could not tell, but that the English, knowing he had no means of opposing them, did what they pleased on the island; and that fifty of them had retired into the mountains with arms and ammunition. The next day the count invited the English captains, who had escaped when their vessels were taken, to come on board his vessel, and parley with him, giving them his word of honour not to molest them; on their arrival, he put the same question to them, which he had done to the governor: when they replied, that the captain of the largest vessel, who had refused to accompany them on board, acting as commodore, and being resolved to prevent the approach of the count, they were obliged to act as he did; but that they were willing to treat for the ransom of their ships. The count appointed the next day for this purpose; but,

in the mean time, having learnt that the English, who were on shore, had formed a design to seize his vessel, when one of the captains returned respecting the ransom, he detained him, for his own safety, till the moment of his departure; and gave orders to disarm the ships, one of which he burnt. The count afterwards prevailed on the captain whom he had thus detained, to order his crew on board; and he states, that he found no difficulty in persuading them to accompany him, provided he assured them, that they should not be compelled to take up arms against their own country; on all other occasions, they swore to be faithful and obedient. From the isle of May, he sailed to Porto Praya, for the express purpose, he alleges, of informing the Portuguese governor there of all that had occurred; and of his motives and object in acting as he had done.

He now proceeds, in his memorial, to represent the circumstances of his capture by Commodore Barnett; and, as they differ, in some respects, from the account sent to the Admiralty by the commodore, it will be necessary to attend to his representation. According to him, on the 6th of June, an English squadron appeared off Porto Praya; as they hoisted English colours, the count hoisted the colours of Spain. At first, the English ships came to an anchor at a distance from the harbour, but soon afterwards the commodore sent a message to the count, intimating his design, if he did not object to it, of anchoring further in: the count, in reply, not only made no objection; but even offered the assistance of one of his shallops to assist the English vessels in warping in. The count, however, had soon reason to apprehend, that Commodore Barnett was hostilely disposed; and perceiving that he had sent on shore to the governor, he also sent a messenger, by whom he expressed to the governor, his expectation, that he would make the neutrality of the place respected, in case the English should attack him; or, at

least, that he would prevent the English from going out, according to the laws of war, for twenty-four hours after his departure. The governor, in reply, stated, that the force of the English was so great, that he could not put in force those laws, if they were disposed to break them; but that if they were broken, on the part of the English, he would send a representation of the case to his court. The count's officers and crew, by this time, took the alarm, and were preparing to go on shore with all their effects, when the count assured them, that the protection of the fortress and royal standard of his Portuguese majesty must secure them from capture or insult. Scarcely, however, had he given this assurance, when he had the mortification to perceive his vessel surrounded with armed boats, and was informed, that it had been resolved, in a council of war, to seize himself, the countess, and all his people, who must henceforward regard themselves as prisoners of war; they, therefore, ordered him to strike his flag; this he refused to do, protesting against the violation of neutral territory, and declaring, if his force had been nearly equal to that of the English, he would not have permitted himself to be thus captured with impunity. Upon this, the officer sent by Commodore Barnett struck the Spanish flag, and demanded his property, commission, and ship's papers. The count accuses the English sailors of ransacking and plundering all that came in their way, and of breaking open trunks, chests, and boxes, without any scruple. He acknowledges, however, that Commodore Barnett received him with great politeness, and that he gave him his word of honour, that he would restore every thing which had escaped the plunder and avarice of the sailors. The commodore next carefully examined all the count's papers, and finding from them, that the character which he bore, was not assumed, he sent an order to the officers who were on guard aboard the prize, not to meddle with any thing be-

longing to the count or countess, but to take an exact and complete inventory of all their effects; before this order came, however, the trunks and boxes of the count and countess had been completely emptied: and notwithstanding all the enquiries of the officer, their contents could not be recovered, except only some of the meaner sort of wearing apparel. On learning this, Commodore Barnett was very angry, and severely reprimanded the officers on guard for it; they laid the blame on the sailors, who, notwithstanding the strict orders which had been given them to the contrary, could not be restrained from plundering. The commodore perceiving that there was not any remedy for what had taken place, in order to secure the little which remained of the count and countess's property, gave directions that it should be put on shore wherever the count thought proper. The count next makes a statement, which, if true, certainly takes away the only ground of justification for Commodore Barnett's conduct; for, it will be recollected, that the commodore, in the account he gives of the transaction, expressly affirms, that he would not have thought of violating the Portuguese neutrality, had he not been informed that the count had first violated it, by seizing the English vessels in the isle of May. Now the count, in his memorial, expressly states, that the captains of the captured vessels confessed to the commodore, that, in effect, they themselves were the first who fired upon the Spanish frigate, in attempting to hinder her from entering into the harbour; and that afterwards they had consulted measures to surprise the count, by means of shallops, artfully concealed, and manned with Englishmen and negroes. The commodore, upon hearing this confession, was, according to the count's memorial, greatly incensed; being made sensible of the wrong his countrymen had committed, and feeling regret, at the same time, for his own conduct, with respect to the count; the latter adds, that this regret led

the commodore to say, in public hearing, that the ships which he had taken were no lawful prizes, and that he would give, with all his heart, ten thousand pounds sterling, that the affair had not happened; but that when he came into a latitude where an express might be conveniently sent, he would not fail to do it, being well assured, that his Britannic majesty would command him to restore to the count his frigate and prizes, and even to assist him in his expedition, of the importance of which he was now fully convinced, as well as of its great use to all the nations of Europe; but that he saw himself forced to take the resolution of the council of war, in which his advice was not followed; that he now could not give stronger proofs of those sentiments, than by selling, at a low rate, the frigate to the Portuguese, who, knowing the count's designs, would not fail to restore it to him. The frigate was accordingly sold to a Portuguese merchant, who, however, refused to give it up to the count; and all the latter obtained was a present of twenty-five pieces; the governor, and the other officers on the island, taking, at the same time, measures for the relief of him and his countess.

Before Commodore Barnett left the island, he returned to the count part of his commissions and papers, and sent him, the countess, and all the officers, and most of the crew to the city of Ribera la grande, in one of his own shallops, giving him a passport, to be in force for the space of six months, to enable him to pass freely and without molestation, in whatever neutral vessel he should choose, either to France, or Spain. At Ribera la grande the distresses of the count, and his companions were very great; for being detained there nearly thirteen months, they were under the necessity of selling what little remained of their property, in order to support themselves. In the mean time, the Bishop of the Cape de Verde Islands, in concert with the governor general, sent an account home to Portugal, of the whole transaction, representing, accord-

ing to this memorial, that Commodore Barnett, without any regard to the neutrality of the Portuguese dominions, had carried his boldness so far, as to seize three ships that were at anchor, under the fortress of the town of Praya. In consequence of this representation, the governor received an order for all those who were taken under the Spanish flag, to be embarked for Lisbon. The count himself in the month of July, 1745, left Ribera la grande, and on the 16th of September, arrived in Lisbon: he immediately informed the Portuguese minister, and the Spanish ambassador at the court of Lisbon, of all that had happened both at the island of May, and in the harbour of Praya; but not being able to get satisfaction, he repaired to London, where he published his memorial; he brought with him the depositions of the inhabitants of the Cape de Verd islands, and the certificate of the governor, to obviate the charge brought against him by Commodore Barnett, of having first violated the neutrality; but the testimony of the commodore, on this point, was so full and satisfactory, that the count could not succeed in his application for remuneration for his losses.

On the memorial of the count, it may be remarked, that, the circumstance of his standing on towards the isle of May, under Danish colours, was very suspicious, and the reason he gives for it, is by no means satisfactory; because, the English vessels lying under the protection of a neutral port, could not have been alarmed at the sight of a vessel with Spanish colours flying; at the same time it may fairly be questioned, whether Commodore Barnett was justified in violating the neutrality, with respect to the count, because the count had previously violated the neutrality with respect to some English vessels; the more regular, and less objectionable method, certainly would have been, to have insisted on the Portuguese governor recovering from the count the English vessels which he had thus taken; since the governor, (if possible,) was

more concerned in their restoration, even than Commodore Barnett himself.

With respect to the character of the count, it certainly manifests a spirit of bold and original enterprise, united, as such a spirit not unfrequently is, with no very scrupulous regard to the justice of the means adopted, or the end proposed. But to return to Commodore Barnett's further proceedings :—Nothing important or interesting seems to have occurred from the time of the commodore's departure from St. Jago, till his arrival at Madagascar, which island he put into, for the supply of water and provisions. Soon after he left this place, he divided his squadron; his own ship, the *Deptford*, and the *Preston*, Lord Northesk steering for the straits of Sunda, and from thence, for the straits of Banca; while the *Medway*, Captain Peyton, and the *Diamond*, Captain Moore, directed their course for the straits of Malacca. By thus dividing his force, and sending them in different directions, Commodore Barnett conceived that he should be better able to fulfil the object on which he was sent; and that the enemy might be taken unawares, he gave orders that the *Deptford* and *Preston* should be painted exactly in the manner in which the French and Dutch paint their vessels. He passed through the straits of Sunda, without meeting any of the enemy's ships; and had cruised in the straits of Banca for a considerable time, with the like want of success; when at last, being at anchor there, on the 25th of January, 1745, three large ships hove in sight: from their make, and mode of rigging, he concluded they were French East India ships; two of them proved to be merchant vessels from China, and the third he supposed to be a French ship of war, belonging to the East India company, from Pondicherry. Commodore Barnett having received intelligence that this last was in their seas, was prepared to encounter her. In order to render the disguise of his

own vessels still more complete, he hoisted Dutch colours ; and the enemy apprehending no danger, came close down upon the Deptford and Preston. As soon as they were sufficiently near, the commodore gave orders for the Dutch colours to be hauled down, and the English hoisted in their place, calling upon the enemy at the same time to strike theirs for the King of England ; and this not being complied with, the Deptford poured a broadside into the largest French vessel. As Commodore Barnett perceived the French vessels came down, without apprehension, he naturally concluded that they did not suspect the Deptford and Preston to be English vessels, and therefore would not be prepared for resistance ; in this opinion, however, he was mistaken, for no sooner had his vessel poured in her broadside, before his opponent returned it ; and the Preston engaging the other vessels at the same time, the battle soon became general. By this time Commodore Barnett perceived that the vessel with which he was engaged, and which he had taken for the fifty gun ship, was in fact, a French East Indiaman, and that they were all three of very large size, each mounting thirty guns.

The engagement continued very sharply for the space of three hours ; at one period of it, in consequence of the Preston's not obeying her helm, the Hercules, one of her opponents, might have escaped, but she preferred remaining to support her consort, and share her fate. At length Commodore Barnett, in order to put an end to the engagement, gave orders to Lord Northesk to board one of the vessels, while he prepared to board the largest ; these orders were immediately put into execution, and thus they completely succeeded in the enterprise, though not so soon as they otherwise would have done, in consequence of a cannon-shot having carried away Commodore Barnett's tiller-rope. As soon as two of the enemy's ships were thus captured by boarding, the third struck her colours, and they were found to be, the Dauphin, Captain Butler, (the ship

with which the *Deptford* was more particularly engaged;) the *Jason*, Captain Delametrie; and the *Hercules*, Captain Dufreigne. They were about seven hundred tons burden, had a compliment of two hundred and fifty men each; and were very deeply and richly laden, principally with tea, china ware, and silk. The supercargoes informed Commodore Barnett, that the cargoes of each would in France have sold for upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Having sent his prizes into Batavia, he proceeded on his voyage to the British settlements in India, the protection of which was one of the principal objects for which he had been sent out. We may just add, that the other division of Commodore Barnett's squadron, the *Medway* and the *Diamond*, captured at Achen, a French privateer, which had been fitted out at Pondicherry, to cruise in the China Seas, against our East India ships; and that also, in their passage through the straits of Malacca, they took a Manilla ship, with seventy chests of dollars on board, each containing three thousand, and two chests of gold, worth thirty thousand pounds.

It soon appeared from the conduct of Commodore Barnett in the East Indies, that no person could have been selected more fit to protect the commerce and settlements of the East India company; the measures which he took for this purpose, were conceived with so much sagacity and judgment, and executed in such a prompt and effectual manner, that he not only protected our trade, but much annoyed the trade of the enemy. Having received information that two French ships of six hundred tons, and one of four hundred, well armed, the two former mounting eighteen, and the latter twelve guns, were on their route for the Ganges, he detached two of his squadron to anchor off Cape Palmiras, for the purpose of intercepting them in their object; they completely succeeded, and thus he inflicted a very heavy blow on the French East India company by sea. But the most signal instance of his activity

and penetration, was exhibited in the mode which he took to protect Madras ; the French with a body of one thousand infantry, four hundred of which were Europeans, together with forty horse, and the requisite artillery, marched out of Pondicherry, and encamped within a mile of Fort St. George. Instead of sailing for the protection and defence of this place, into the road of Madras, he sailed for Pondicherry, wisely conceiving that by making indications of his design to attack this settlement, he could draw off the enemy to its defence from before Madrid. The governor of the latter place, however, was so alarmed at the vicinity of the French army, and at the absence of Commodore Barnett, that he sent a most urgent request to him, to leave Pondicherry, and to return to Madras ; but the commodore had too much confidence in the success of his own plan, to abandon the execution of it, on account of the apprehensions of the governor. In order, however, in some measure to quiet him, and to secure Madras, while he was at Pondicherry, he sent back one of his squadron, to which the governor was instructed to make the necessary signals, in case he should be reduced to extremity. Commodore Barnett had not been long in the Pondicherry road, before he was convinced that he had formed the most effectual plan for the relief of Madras ; for the French in order to draw him from his station, gave out, that they expected four ships of the line in the road ; but the Commodore paid no attention to this report ; on the contrary, he sent out his boats to sound, and made every other indication of his resolution to attempt a landing. The French now began to be seriously alarmed for the safety of Pondicherry, and judged it proper to return by forced marches from Madras. Thus, by Commodore Barnett's sagacity, was this valuable settlement preserved to the East India company.

Of the subsequent operations and services of the commodore, nothing is known. He died on the 29th of April,

1746, leaving behind him just claims to the character of an excellent seaman, active, and conscientious in the discharge of the duties of his profession, and possessed of no common abilities.

MEMOIRS OF THE HONOURABLE JOHN BYNG.

THE honourable John Byng was the fourth son of George, Viscount Torrington. He was born at his father's seat at Southill, in Bedfordshire, in the year 1704. Manifesting, when he was as yet quite a boy, a strong inclination to go to sea, his father took him along with him, at the early age of thirteen. Under such auspices he could not fail of advancing rapidly; and under such instruction and example, it might have been supposed that his professional life would have been distinguished for courage, and correct and cool judgment, at the time when they were most required. Rapidly he certainly advanced in the navy; for when he was only twenty-three years old, he was raised to the rank of captain, and appointed to the command of the Gibraltar frigate, one of the vessels which, during the year 1727, was stationed in the Mediterranean.

From this period till the year 1741, most of which intervening time was peaceable, he is not noticed as having been engaged in any particular or important services: in 1741, he was appointed to the command of the *Sunderland*, a sixty gun ship. Towards the commencement of the subsequent year, he was made governor and commander-in-chief of Newfoundland and its dependencies; still retaining his command of the *Sunderland*. For this station he accordingly sailed, and on it he remained for a considerable time, discharging his duty with fidelity, and to the satisfaction of the ministry. When he returned to England, he was removed from the *Sunderland* to the

Winchester, a fifty gun ship, and ordered to cruise in soundings: promotion still followed him, for on the 8th of August, 1745, he was made rear-admiral of the blue.

The chief and most important employment of our naval force at the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, was to prevent supplies being sent from France, to the Pretender in Scotland. On this employment several squadrons were ordered; and as it was a service which required great vigilance and activity, as well as no small share of circumspection, only those naval officers were appointed to it on whom government could rely for these qualities. Admiral Byng was one of the officers employed on this occasion; and he seems to have conducted himself with perfect propriety. As soon as there was no longer any necessity to employ him in this manner, he was sent out to the Mediterranean; and on the 15th of July, 1747, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue. When he first arrived on the Mediterranean station, Admiral Medley held the chief command; and his duty consisted in giving every possible support, and affording every possible accommodation to our Austrian allies, during their movements and operations in that quarter. Mr. Medley died in the end of July, and in the beginning of the subsequent month, Admiral Byng took the command and pursued the plans of his predecessor, with an equal share of judgment and zeal. No complaint against him, on any score, was made by our allies, while he was on this station; but his conduct, though irreproachable, does not afford any thing remarkable or important. On the 12th of May, 1748, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the red.

His name does not occur again in our naval annals till the year 1755, when on the 15th of October he was ordered to take the command of a squadron, for the purpose of cruising in the Channel, off Cape Finisterre, and in the bay of Biscay: with this squadron he relieved Sir Edward

Hawke, who had had the previous command on those stations: he sailed from Spithead with his flag flying on board the *Ramilies*, and continued to cruise till the 21st of November.

Towards the end of this year and the beginning of the year 1756, the British government were convinced that the views and objects of the French were hostile; they particularly received intelligence, that a powerful armament was equipping in Toulon. From the circumstances respecting this armament which they learnt, there could be no doubt that it was intended to act against Fort St. Philip. The garrison in this fort was by no means adequate, either in point of number, or ammunition and stores, to stand out for any considerable length of time, even against a small force. It is an unaccountable but undoubted fact, that notwithstanding these things were well known to the British government,—notwithstanding representations respecting the preparations, and probable destination of the enemy's armament were sent home, from a great variety of persons who had the best means of gaining accurate and full information on the subject, the British ministry were so slow to believe either the inadequate force and state of the garrison of Fort St. Philip, or the intentions of the French, that they made no effort for a long time, to counteract their hostile designs. At last, on the strong and positive representation of General Blakeney, that the garrison must be reinforced, if the ministry wished to retain it; and that the enemy's fleet was quite ready to put to sea, under circumstances, with respect to provisions and troops, that could leave no doubt it was intended against Minorca, the ministry were induced to think of endeavouring to protect and preserve that island.

But the same unaccountable delay which was observable in the formation of their resolution to defend Minorca, was also observable in the arrangement and execution of

the measures which they took for its defence. It was, of course, necessary to send out a fleet, and a reinforcement of troops. To the command of this fleet, they resolved to appoint Admiral Byng; but previously to this appointment, he was promoted to the rank of admiral of the blue. Ministers were blamed at the time, with some appearance of justice, for appointing Admiral Byng to this command: the service was one of the greatest importance; it required not only great personal courage, and professional skill and experience, but also a comprehensive judgment, and great activity and zeal; and above all, it was desirable, at the commencement of a new war with France, that every chance of defeat, or want of success should have been most carefully guarded against, so far as they could be supposed to spring from the appointment of a commander not fully equal to the duty, or from the employment of an inadequate force. But Admiral Byng, whatever talents he possessed, had never had an opportunity of displaying them; he was, in fact, without that degree of experience which ought to have been an indispensable requisite in the person entrusted with this command. There seemed, indeed, no reason why he should have been selected, and several reasons why he should not. With respect to the force placed under his command, it also was inadequate to the service: it consisted only of ten sail of the line, several of which were not in a proper condition either for fighting or going to sea; and most of them were either short of their compliment of men, or a considerable proportion of their crew consisted of young and inexperienced seamen. There was not in his fleet, a single fire ship, an hospital ship, or even a frigate: it is said, he was refused a repeating frigate, though he applied for it in very urgent terms. Even this fleet, so small and inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended, was not got ready for sea without many delays. But there is still a more extraordinary and unaccountable circumstance to

be noticed; notwithstanding the evidence, that the French armament was destined against Minorca, was as plain and strong as the nature of the case would admit, yet government were so averse to believe it, that in their instructions to Admiral Byng, they expressly stated, that, “ as “ it was probable the French squadron may be intended “ for North America, you are to draught so many of your “ ships as, when joined with a squadron going to Halifax, “ shall become superior to the enemy’s squadron; and “ this done, you are to dispose of them under Rear-ad- “ miral West, whom you shall order to hasten his voyage “ to Louisbourgh.” From these instructions it would appear, that the relief and protection of Minorca was but a secondary object.

On the 7th of April, Admiral Byng sailed from St. Helen’s, and on the 2d of May he arrived at Gibraltar: from this place he wrote a letter to the Admiralty, which is supposed, by reflecting on the conduct of ministers, to have irritated them against him. “ If,” said he, “ I had “ been so happy as to have arrived at Minorca before the “ enemy had landed, I flatter myself I should have had “ it in my power to have hindered them from establishing “ a footing there.” In a subsequent part of this letter, he informed ministry, that Gibraltar was destitute of the magazines necessary to supply the wants of his squadron; that his ships could not be cleaned there; and that the pits, careening wharfs, and store-houses were in a state of decay. In the conclusion of his letter, he stated, that even on the supposition that he could throw a small number of men into Mahon, the step would only be productive of a greater loss, as the men thus thrown in, must fall into the power of such a superior enemy, already in possession of the whole island, except the fort. This letter, it must be confessed, contained a very severe censure on ministers, for their negligence and inattention to such an important place as Gibraltar: but at the same

time, it betrayed, on the part of the admiral, that kind of feeling of distrust and despondency in his means, which was likely to retard and damp him in the execution of his duty.

Of the unfortunate engagement off Minorca, there is already an account given in the historical department of this work; but, nevertheless, we think it proper to lay before our readers, Admiral Byng's letter respecting it; in order that his own opinions and feelings on the occasion, may be clearly and fully brought out. We have another reason for printing this letter: it has already been seen, that Admiral Byng was disposed to censure ministers, and they, on their part, as we shall notice more fully hereafter, were determined, if possible, to turn aside the popular clamour and indignation excited by the fall of Minorca, from themselves on the admiral: this was apparent in all their conduct towards him, subsequent to the action; and it gave rise to their withholding from the public eye, some parts of his official letter: these parts we shall insert, distinguishing them by Italics.

“ Ramilies, off Minorca, 25th May, 1756.

“ Sir,—I have the pleasure to desire you will acquaint
 “ their lordships, that having sailed from Gibraltar the
 “ 8th, I got off Mahon the 19th, having been joined by
 “ his majesty's ship *Phoenix*, off Majorca, two days be-
 “ fore, (here are inserted in the Gazette these words, viz.
 “ when the enemy's fleet appeared in the south-east) by
 “ *whom I had confirmed the intelligence I received at*
 “ *Gibraltar, of the strength of the French fleet, and of their*
 “ *being off Mahon. His majesty's colours were still flying*
 “ *at the castle of St. Philip's, and I could perceive several*
 “ *bomb batteries playing upon it from different parts.*
 “ *French colours we saw flying on the west part of St.*
 “ *Philip's. I dispatched the Phoenix, Chesterfield, and*
 “ *Dolphin ahead, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth; and*

“ Captain Hervey to endeavour to land a letter for General
“ Blakeney, to let him know that the fleet was here to his
“ assistance, though every one was of opinion we could be
“ of no use to him; as, by all accounts, no place was se-
“ cured for covering a landing, could we have spared any
“ people. The *Phoenix* was also to make the private signal
“ between Captain Hervey and Captain Scrope, as this
“ latter would undoubtedly come off, if it were practicable,
“ having kept the *Dolphin’s* barge with him. But the
“ enemy’s fleet appearing to the south-east, and the wind
“ at the same time coming strong off the land, obliged me
“ to call those ships in, before they could get quite so near
“ the entrance of the harbour as to make sure what batteries
“ or guns might be placed to prevent our having any com-
“ munication with the castle. Falling little wind, it was
“ five before I could form my line, or distinguish any of
“ the enemy’s motions, and not at all to judge of their
“ force, more than by their numbers, which were seven-
“ teen, and thirteen appeared large. They at first stood
“ towards us in a regular line, and tacked about seven,
“ which I judged was to endeavour to gain the wind of us
“ in the night; so that being late, I tacked, in order to
“ keep the weather gauge of them, as well as to make
“ sure of the land wind in the morning. Being very
“ hazy, and not above five leagues off Cape Mola, we
“ tacked off towards the enemy at eleven; and at day-
“ light, had no sight of them; but two tartanes, with
“ the French private signal, being close in with the rear
“ of the fleet, I sent the *Princess Louisa* to chace one,
“ and made the signal for the rear-admiral, who was the
“ nearest the other, to send ships to chace her. The
“ *Princess Louisa*, *Defiance*, and Captain, became at a
“ great distance; but the *Defiance* took hers, which had
“ two captains, two lieutenants, and an hundred and two
“ private soldiers on board, who were sent out the day
“ before with six hundred men on board tartanes, to

“ reinforce the French fleet. On our then appearing off
“ the place, the Phœnix, on Captain Hervey’s offer, pre-
“ pared to serve as a fire ship, but without damaging her
“ as a frigate, till the signal was made to prime; when
“ she was then to scuttle her decks, every thing else
“ being prepared at the time and place allowed of.

“ The enemy now began to appear from the mast head,
“ I called in the cruisers, and when they had joined me, I
“ tacked towards the enemy, and formed the line ahead.
“ I found the French were preparing theirs to leeward,
“ having unsuccessfully endeavoured to weather me.
“ There were twelve large ships of the line, and five fri-
“ gates. As soon as I judged the rear of our fleet to be
“ the length of their van, I ordered the Deptford to quit
“ the line, that ours might become equal in number
“ with theirs. At two I made the signal to engage, as I
“ found it was the surest method of ordering every ship
“ to close down on the one that fell to their lot. And
“ here I must express my great satisfaction at the very
“ gallant manner in which the rear-admiral set the van
“ the example, by instantly bearing down on the ship he
“ was to engage, with his second, and who occasioned
“ one of the French ships to begin the engagement,
“ which they did by raking ours as they went down. I
“ bore down on the ship that lay opposite to me, and
“ began to engage him, after having the fire for some time
“ in going down. The Intrepid unfortunately, in the
“ very beginning, had her fore topmast shot away, and as
“ that hung down on his foresail, and backed it, he had
“ no command of his ship, his foresails and all his braces
“ being cut away at the same time, so that he drove on
“ the next ship to him, and obliged that and the ships
“ ahead of me to throw all back: this obliged me to do
“ so also for some minutes, to avoid their falling aboard
“ of me, though not before we had drove on our adversary
“ out of the line, who put before the wind, and had

“ several shot fired at him from his own admiral. This
“ not only caused the enemy’s centre to be unattacked,
“ but left the rear-admiral’s division rather uncovered for
“ some time. I sent and called to the ships ahead of me
“ to make sail on, and go down on the enemy, and ordered
“ the Chesterfield to lay by the Intrepid, and the Dept-
“ ford to supply the Intrepid’s place, and found the
“ enemy edged away constantly; and as they went three
“ feet to our one, they would never permit our closing
“ with them, but took the advantages of destroying our
“ rigging: for though I closed the rear-admiral fast, I
“ found I could not again close the enemy, whose van
“ were fairly driven from their line; but their admiral
“ was joining them, by bearing away. By this time it
“ was past six, and the enemy’s van and ours were at too
“ great distance to engage. I perceived some of their
“ ships stretching towards the northward, and I imagined
“ they were going to form a new line. I made the signal
“ for the headmost ships to tack, and those that led before
“ the larboard tacks to lead now with the starboard, that
“ I might by the first keep, if possible, the wind of the
“ enemy, and by the second be near the rear-admiral’s
“ division and the enemy, as his had suffered most; as
“ also to cover the Intrepid, which I perceived to be in a
“ very bad condition, and whose loss would very greatly
“ give the balance against us, if they had attacked the
“ next morning, as I expected. I brought to about eight
“ that night to join the Intrepid, and to refit our ships
“ as fast as possible, and continued so all night. The
“ next morning we saw nothing of the enemy, though we
“ were still lying to. Mahon was north-north-west about
“ ten or eleven leagues. I sent cruisers out to look for
“ the Intrepid and Chesterfield, who joined me the next
“ day; and having, from a state and condition of the
“ squadron brought me in, found that the Captain, Intrepid,

“ and Defiance, which last has lost her captain, were
“ much damaged in their masts, so that they were endan-
“ gered of not being able to secure their masts properly at
“ sea; and also that the squadron in general was very
“ sickly, many killed and wounded, and nowhere to put a
“ third of their number, even if I made an hospital of the
“ forty gun ship, which was not easy at sea. I thought it
“ proper in this situation to call a council of war, before
“ I again went to look for the enemy. I desired the
“ attendance of General Stuart, Lord Effingham, Lord
“ Robert Bertie, and Colonel Cornwallis, that I might
“ collect their opinions on the present situation of Mi-
“ norca and Gibraltar, and make sure of protecting the
“ latter, since it was found impossible either to relieve or
“ succour the former with the force we had; for though
“ we may justly claim the victory, yet we are much supe-
“ rior to the weight of their ships, though the numbers
“ are equal, and they have the advantage of sending to
“ Minorca their wounded, and getting reinforcements of
“ seamen from their transports, and soldiers from their
“ camp; all which undoubtedly has been done in this
“ time that we have been laying to to refit, and often in
“ sight of Minorca: and their ships have more than once
“ appeared in a line from our mast heads. I send their
“ lordships the resolution of the council of war, in which
“ there was (in the Gazette *at* is inserted instead of *in*,
“ and *council* instead of *there was*) not the least contention
“ or doubt arose.

“ I hope, indeed, we shall find stores to refit us at
“ Gibraltar, and if I have any reinforcement, will not
“ lose a moment's time to seek the enemy again, and once
“ more give them battle, though they have a great advan-
“ tage in being clean ships, that go three feet to our one,
“ and therefore have the choice how they will engage us, or
“ if they will at all; and will never let us close them, as

*“ their sole view is the disabling our ships, in which they
 “ have but too well succeeded, though we obliged them to
 “ bear up.*

*“ I do not send their lordships the particulars of our
 “ losses and damages by this, as it would take me much
 “ time, and I am willing none should be lost in letting
 “ them know an event of such consequence. I cannot
 “ help urging their lordships for a reinforcement, if none
 “ are yet sailed, on their knowledge of the enemy’s strength
 “ in those seas, and which, by very good intelligence,
 “ will in a few days be strengthened by four more large
 “ ships from Toulon, almost ready to sail, if not already
 “ sailed, to join these. I dispatch this to Sir Benjamin
 “ Keene, by way of Barcelona, and am making the best
 “ of my way to cover Gibraltar, from which place I pro-
 “ pose sending their lordships a more particular account.*

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ JOHN BYNG.

“ To the Hon. JOHN CLEVELAND, Esq.”

Not only were those parts of Admiral Byng’s letter, which are printed in Italics, withheld from the public, but the letter itself, though said to have been received on the 16th of June, was not inserted in the Gazette till the 26th of that month. The hired writers in the pay of ministry were instantly set to work, to censure his conduct in the most violent and inflammatory language : among others, Mallet was employed in this nefarious business, and his pamphlet is said to have produced a wonderful effect on the passions and the prejudices of the common people. One fact was particularly pointed out, and most strenuously insisted upon, as a proof of personal cowardice ; from the returns of the killed and wounded on board of the different ships, it appeared that on board the *Ramilies*,

Admiral Byng's own ship; there was not one man either killed or wounded.

Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders were ordered to supersede Mr. Byng, whom they were instructed to send home under arrest. By this time the popular clamour and indignation were so extremely violent, that government were under the necessity of making known their intention to try Admiral Byng in a singular, unprecedented, and not a very decorous or fair manner. Orders were sent down to all the out-ports, where it was probable he would land, to put him, immediately on his arrival, under a close arrest. This, it might have been imagined, was sufficient; but a notification of these orders was published in the Gazette. The fact seems to have been, that ministers, by their party writers, had roused the public to such a violent state of irritation, that they were afraid some of it would be directed against themselves, unless they placed it beyond a doubt that they were resolved to proceed against Mr. Byng without the least delay, and in the most rigorous manner.

The admiral landed at Portsmouth, and he soon was convinced that it would require all his fortitude to support himself under the indignities to which he was exposed: every place that he passed through, he was hooted by the mob. On his road from Portsmouth to Greenwich hospital, where he was to remain till his trial, he was guarded as if he had been guilty of the most heinous crimes: that part of the hospital in which he was confined, was most scrupulously and carefully fortified; and what marked most decidedly the feeling of government towards him, or, to speak more correctly, their mean and unjust subserviency to the popular clamour, which they had so much contributed to raise, they took care that all their precautions to prevent his escape should be made known.

On the 27th of December, 1756, the court martial, which was ordered to inquire into his conduct, assembled on board of the St. George in Portsmouth harbour; it consisted of the following members: president, Vice-admiral Thomas Smith; Rear-admirals Francis Holbourne, Thomas Brodrick; and Harry Norris; Captains Charles Holmes, William Boys, John Simcoe, John Bentley, Peter Denis, Francis Geary, John Moore, James Douglas, and the Hon. Augustus Keppel.

The evidence concluded on the 15th of January, 1757, after which Mr. Byng gave in his defence. The opinion of the court was, "That the admiral, having on board
" many officers, who must have been much wanted in the
" castle of St. Philip's, ought to have sent them ahead in
" one of the frigates, to be landed, if possible, though he
" did not see the French fleet.

" That when the British fleet on the starboard tack had
" stretched abreast of the enemy's line, the admiral
" should have tacked it altogether, and conducted it on a
" direct course for the enemy, the van for the van, and
" the rear for the rear, under such sail as might have
" enabled the worst sailing ship, under all her plain sails,
" to preserve her station.

" That upon the signal to engage, our van division
" bore down properly for the ships opposed to them, and
" engaged till the five headmost of the enemy went away
" out of gun-shot.

" That after the signal to engage, the admiral separated
" the rear from the van, and retarded the rear from
" closing with the enemy, by shortening sail, that the
" Trident and Louisa might again get ahead of him.

" That instead of this, he should have made the Tri-
" dent and Louisa's signal to make more sail, and ought
" to have set so much sail himself, as would have enabled
" the slowest ship to have kept her station, with all her

“ plain sail, in order to have got down to the enemy as fast as possible, and properly supported the van.

“ That the admiral acted wrong, in suffering the fire on board his ship to continue, before she was got to a proper distance to engage, because he not only threw away his shot, but occasioned a smoke, which prevented his seeing the motions of the enemy, and the positions of the ships immediately ahead of his own.

“ That after the damaged ships had been repaired as much as possible, he ought to have returned off St. Philip's, and have endeavoured to open a communication with the castle, and used all the means in his power to relieve it.

“ That he did not do his utmost to relieve it.

“ That during the engagement, he did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, and assist such of his own ships as were engaged.

The court martial therefore came to the following resolution :

“ That the admiral appears to fall under the following part of the twelfth article of the articles of war; viz. ‘ or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship, which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every of his majesty's ships, which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve :’ and as that article positively prescribes death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any variation of circumstances, resolved that he be adjudged to be shot to death at such time, and on board such ship, as the lords commissioners of the Admiralty shall direct : but as it appears by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant-colonel Smith, Captain Gardiner, and other officers of the ship, who were near the person of the admiral, that they did not perceive any

“ backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of
“ fear or confusion, either from his countenance or beha-
“ viour, but that he seemed to give his orders coolly and
“ distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal cou-
“ rage, and from other circumstances, the court do not
“ believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice
“ or disaffection ; and do therefore unanimously think it
“ their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper
“ object of mercy.”

Not only in their resolution did the court martial recommend him to mercy, but in the letter which accompanied a copy of their proceedings to the board of Admiralty, they expressed themselves in the following words, to the same effect :

“ We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds
“ before your lordships on this occasion, in finding our-
“ selves under the necessity of condemning a man to
“ death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of
“ war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of
“ no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed
“ by an error of his judgment ; and therefore, for our own
“ consciences sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner,
“ we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to
“ recommend him to his majesty’s clemency.”

Notwithstanding these repeated, strong, and earnest representations of the opinion and wishes of the court martial, the lords of the Admiralty contented themselves, when they laid before his majesty a copy of the proceedings, with transmitting the letters of the court martial ; hinting, indeed, a doubt respecting the legality of the sentence, because the crime of negligence, for which alone Admiral Byng was condemned, did not appear in any part of the proceedings. When the sentence was known, George Lord Viscount Torrington, a near relation of the admiral’s, presented two petitions to his majesty ; and his other friends interested themselves in his behalf : but the

prejudice of the nation was so clamorous and violent, that it would scarcely have been safe to have pardoned him; however, in consequence of the representation of the lords of the Admiralty, respecting the doubtful legality of the sentence, his majesty referred it to the twelve judges, who were unanimous in their opinion that it was legal. The next step was to transmit this opinion to the lords of the Admiralty, in order that they might sign the warrant for the execution. All the lords signed it, except Admiral Forbes, who entered the following reasons for his refusal :

“ It may be thought great presumption in me, to differ
 “ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges; but
 “ when a man is called upon to sign his name to an act,
 “ which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he
 “ ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the
 “ opinions of other men.

“ In the case before us, it is not the merit of Admiral
 “ Byng, I consider; whether he deserves death or not, is
 “ a question not for me to decide; but whether his life
 “ can be taken away by the sentence pronounced upon him,
 “ by the court martial; and after having so clearly explained
 “ their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is a
 “ point alone which has employed my serious consideration.

“ The twelfth article of war, on which Admiral Byng’s
 “ sentence is grounded, says, (according to my understanding of its meaning) ‘ That every person who in time of
 “ action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight,
 “ or who shall not do his utmost, &c. through motive of
 “ cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.’
 “ The court martial does in express words, acquit Admiral
 “ Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the
 “ word negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive,
 “ fall under the letter, or description of the twelfth article of
 “ war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though

“ the word is not mentioned ; otherwise the court martial
“ would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice, and disaffection.
“ But it must be acknowledged, that the negligence implied,
“ cannot be wilful negligence : for wilful negligence in
“ Admiral Byng’s situation, must have either proceeded
“ from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly
“ acquitted of both these crimes. Besides these crimes
“ which are implied only, and not named, may indeed
“ justify suspicion, and private opinion ; but cannot satisfy
“ the conscience in case of blood.

“ Admiral Byng’s fate was referred to a court martial :
“ his life and death were left to their opinions. The court
“ martial condemned him to death, because as they expressly
“ say, they were under the necessity of doing so, by reason
“ of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court
“ martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most
“ earnestly recommend him to his majesty’s mercy. It is
“ evident then, that in the opinion and consciences of the
“ judges, he was not deserving of death. The question then
“ is, shall the opinions or necessities of the court martial
“ determine Admiral Byng’s fate ? If it should be the latter,
“ he will be executed contrary to the instructions and meaning of the judges ; if the former, his life is not forfeited.
“ His judges declare him not worthy of death ; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which according to their own description of his offence, he does
“ not, I conceive, fall under ; and then they condemn him to
“ death, because as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man’s life be taken away by such a sentence ?
“ I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it
“ understood, I judge of Admiral Byng’s deserts. This
“ was the business of a court martial ; and it is my duty

“ only to act according to my conscience ; which after deli-
 “ berate consideration assisted by the best light a poor
 “ understanding can afford, remains still in doubt: and
 “ therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant, whereby the
 “ sentence of a court martial may be carried into execution ;
 “ for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal Admiral
 “ Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence.
 “ I do not mean to find fault with other men’s opinions ;
 “ all I endeavour at, is, to give reasons for my own ; and all
 “ I wish is, that I may not be misunderstood. I do not
 “ pretend to judge Admiral Byng’s deserts, nor to give any
 “ opinion on the propriety of the act.

“ Signed 6th of February, 1757, “ J. FORBES.
 “ at the Admiralty. ”

Admiral Forbes was not the only naval officer, who
 resolutely and honourably stood forward, and protested
 against the sentence passed upon Admiral Byng. Mr.
 West, who had been second in command under him,
 in the Mediterranean, was also sent home, under arrest ;
 but, instead of being tried, he was appointed one of the
 lord commissioners of the Admiralty, and soon after-
 wards commander in chief of a squadron destined for a
 secret expedition ; yet, notwithstanding these favors, on
 the very day sentence was passed on Admiral Byng,
 he wrote the following official and private letters, de-
 clining the command, the first to the secretary of the
 Admiralty, the other to Earl Temple, at that time first
 lord of the Admiralty.

“ Magnanime, 27th Jan. 1757.

“ Sir,—Without entering into the merit of Admiral
 “ Byng’s behaviour, or deciding at all upon it in one
 “ way or other, the sentence passed this day upon
 “ him, (the substance of which I have seen) makes it
 “ impossible for me to help declining the very honour-
 “ able and distinguished command their lordships have
 “ been pleased to appoint ; I must thereon beseech and

“ entreat them, to confer it on some person more worthy,
 “ since I can only be answerable for my loyalty and fidelity
 “ to my King, and resolution of doing what appears
 “ to me for his service, which it seems an officer may not
 “ want, and yet be capitally convicted for his misconduct,
 “ or inability of doing right. I am not so presumptuous
 “ as to imagine that my actions can always be so rightly
 “ governed, nor am I altogether certain that the judg-
 “ ment of others is infallible, and as in some cases the
 “ consequences may be fatal, I must therefore repeat my
 “ most earnest request, that their lordships will be
 “ pleased to appoint some other person to my command,
 “ and grant me their lordships’ permission to come
 “ to town.”

“ Magnanime, Jan. 27, 1757.

“ My Lord,—However honourable, or however advan-
 “ tageous, the situation I am placed in may be, yet I
 “ am determined and fully resolved to forego any thing,
 “ rather than serve on terms which subject an officer to
 “ the treatment shewn Admiral Byng, whom the court
 “ martial have convicted, not of cowardice, nor of disaf-
 “ fection, but of misconduct, an offence never till now
 “ thought capital; and now it seems only made so, be-
 “ cause no alternative of punishment was found under
 “ the article they bring him under. Strange reasoning !
 “ to acquit of the two points cowardice and disaffection,
 “ to which that article only can relate : since though
 “ negligence is mentioned, yet it can be intended to refer to
 “ one or other of these crimes, *negligence proceeding from*
 “ *disaffection or cowardice*. I well remember this was the
 “ opinion of the House of Commons, when the bill was
 “ brought before them, for which reason no alternative
 “ was left in that article, as otherwise there would have
 “ been. Court martials I have always understood to be
 “ courts of honour and conscience : and therefore why
 “ gentlemen should think themselves tied by the letter

“ to act against their opinion I know not, but enough
 “ of that at present. I shall only make one observation
 “ with regard to that part of their sentence, wherein he
 “ is said, *not to have done his utmost to relieve St. Philip’s*
 “ *Castle*, without pointing out which way it could have
 “ been relieved by him, which indeed they would have
 “ found difficult to have done.

“ As I have taken my final and firm resolution to
 “ resign the command, and have written very strongly
 “ on that head, to the board, I must entreat your lord-
 “ ship to facilitate it, and I am

“ Your’s, &c.”

When the warrant was signed, it was intended that the execution of the admiral should take place without delay; but Mr. Keppel, one of the members of the court martial, rose in his place in the House of Commons, and prayed, in behalf of himself and some other members of the court, that they might be released from their oath of secrecy, in order to disclose the reasons which had induced them to pass sentence of death upon Admiral Byng; as, probably, by this disclosure, some circumstances might come out that would prove the sentence to be illegal. On the 26th of February, in consequence of this application, Mr. Pitt brought a message from his majesty, stating that he had thought fit to respite the execution of the sentence, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court martial upon oath, what ground there was for the suggestion that the sentence was improper. In consequence of this message, a motion was made for bringing in a bill, to release from the obligation of the oath of secrecy, the members of the court martial: it was accordingly prepared, presented, read, amended, and ordered to be engrossed, all in one day; and on the breaking up of the house, an order was sent down to Portsmouth, to respite the execution of the

admiral to the 14th of March. When the bill was brought into the House of Lords, a message was sent to the Commons, desiring them to give leave for such members of that house as had been members of the court martial to attend and be examined upon the second reading of the bill. They attended accordingly, and the principal questions put to them were these : 1st, Whether you know any matter that passed previous to the sentence pronounced upon Admiral Byng, which may shew that sentence to have been unjust? 2dly, Whether you know any matter that passed previous to the said sentence, which may shew that sentence to have been given through any undue practice or motive? 3dly, Whether you are desirous that the bill now under the consideration of the house, for dispensing with the oath of secrecy, should pass into a law? And, 4thly, Whether you are of opinion that you have any particulars to reveal relative to the case of, and the sentence passed upon, Admiral Byng, which you judge necessary for his majesty's information, and which you think likely to incline his majesty to mercy?

The first and second questions were unanimously answered in the negative; and the third and fourth were also answered in the negative by Vice-admiral Smith, the president of the court martial; Rear-admiral Holbourne, Rear-admiral Broderic, Captain Holmes, Captain Geary, Captain Boys, Captain Simcoe, Captain Douglas, Captain Bentley, and Captain Denis. To the third question, Rear-admiral Norris, Captain Moore, and the Hon. Captain Keppell, answered in the affirmative; and to the fourth, the respective answers of the same gentlemen were as follow :

Rear-admiral *Norris*.—"At the time I said I was desirous the act should take place, I understood that we should have an opportunity of delivering our particular reasons for signing the sentence and letter of recommendation."

Captain *Moore*.—" I do not think myself at liberty, while I am under this oath, to answer this question."

The Hon. Captain *Keppel*.—" I think that I cannot answer this question, without particularizing the reasons for my vote and opinion."

In consequence of these replies, the bill was unanimously thrown out of the House of Lords. We shall now describe the behaviour of Admiral Byng while these things were going on.

When he was sent for, on the 27th of January, to receive his sentence on board of the *St. George*, he said to some of his friends, that he expected to be reprimanded, and possibly, he thought, he might be cashiered; " because," added he, " there must have been several controverted points: the court martial has been shut up a long time, and almost all the questions proposed by the court have tended much more to pick out faults in my conduct, than to get a true state of the circumstances; but I profess, I cannot conceive what they will fix upon."

When he arrived on board the *St. George*, and as he was walking on the quarter deck, a member of the court martial came out and told one of his relations, he had the court's leave to inform him, they had found the admiral capitally guilty, and requested him to prepare him for his sentence. The gentleman to whom this communication was made, went up to him immediately, but could not for some time address him, he was so much overcome with the most poignant surprise and grief: his countenance, however, and the embarrassment of his manner, led the admiral to suspect that he was advancing towards him, to communicate some unpleasant intelligence; and he said to him, " What is the matter? have they broke me?" The gentleman, perceiving from this question that he was totally unprepared for his sentence, hesitated still more: upon which the countenance of the

admiral was observed to change a little, and he added, "Well, I understand---if nothing but my blood will satisfy, let them take it."

A few minutes afterwards, one of his friends endeavoured to support and reconcile him to his fate, by observing, that a sentence without guilt could be no stain; and that when all the circumstances of his case were taken into consideration, it was extremely improbable that the sentence now passed upon him would be carried into execution; he begged him, therefore, to indulge the hope of obtaining a pardon. To this he replied, "What will that signify to me? What satisfaction can I receive from the liberty to crawl a few years longer on the earth, with the infamous load of a pardon at my back? I despise life upon such terms, and would rather have them take it."

When the respite for fourteen days, in consequence of the application of Captain Keppell to the House of Commons, came down to Portsmouth, his friends informed him of all that had passed in the house; and from it endeavoured to fill his mind with the expectation, that he would be honourably pardoned; they dwelt upon every circumstance which gave countenance and probability to this idea, and seemed already to anticipate his restoration to them with unsullied honour: to them he replied, in a calm and unembarrassed manner, "I am glad *you* think so, because it makes you easy and happy; but I think it is now become an affair merely political, without any farther relation to right or wrong, justice or injustice; and therefore I differ in opinion from you."

Immediately after he received his sentence, he was put on board the *Monarque*, a third rate man of war, lying at anchor in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in the custody of the marshal of the Admiralty. On Sunday morning, the 13th of March, Captain Montague, who had received the warrant from Admiral

Boscawen for his execution next day, gave it to the marshal for him to read; he read it over without the slightest signs of perturbation, and then remarked, with some warmth, "that the place named in the warrant for his execution, was upon the fore-castle. Is not this," said he, addressing himself to his friends, "putting me upon the footing of a common seaman condemned to be shot? Is not this an indignity to my birth, to my family, and rank in the service? think I have not been treated like an officer in any instance, since I was disgraced, excepting in that of being ordered to be shot." He continued to repeat, that he was improperly treated, and the circumstance of being shot on the fore-castle, evidently filled his mind with indignation.

His friends endeavoured to turn his thoughts aside from this idea; they could not indeed hold out to him the expectation that the place would be changed, because the warrant expressly named it: they coincided with him in the opinion, that it ought not to have been so; but they trusted, at this awful and important moment, he would deem such a circumstance beneath his notice, and not suffer it to break in upon the tranquillity of his mind. On this he composed his thoughts and feelings, and replied, "It is very true, the place or manner is of no great importance to me; but I think living admirals should consult the dignity of the rank, for their own sakes. I cannot plead a precedent; there is no precedent of an admiral, or a general officer in the army, being shot. They make a precedent of me, such as admirals hereafter may feel the effects of."

During the time he was at dinner, no alteration in his manner was observable; he was cheerful and polite, helping his friends, and drinking their healths; but he did not continue long at table. After dinner he conversed a good deal respecting his approaching execution; and the indignation and uneasiness he had before felt about the place

appointed for it, recurred with considerable force on his thoughts. His friends were extremely desirous of conversing on other subjects; and at length, perceiving this, he remarked, "I like to talk upon the subject; it is not
" to be supposed, I do not think of it; why then should
" it be more improper to talk of it?" He frequently noticed how the wind was; and on his friends enquiring the reason of his anxiety on this subject, he said, he hoped it might continue westerly long enough for the members of the court martial (who were just about to sail) to be present when his sentence was put in execution.

About six o'clock, according to his usual custom, he ordered tea; and while he and his friends were at it, his conversation was easy and cheerful. Perceiving that his friends were astonished at this circumstance, "I have observed," said he, "that persons condemned to die, have generally had something to be sorry for, that they have expressed concern for having committed; and though I do not pretend to be exempt from human frailties, yet it is my consolation to have no remorse for any transaction in my public character, during the whole series of my long services." On one of his friends observing, that no man was exempt from human frailties; and that what came under that denomination were not crimes cognizable here, or supposed to be so hereafter,—he replied, "I am conscious of no crimes; and am particularly happy in not dying the mean, despicable, ignominious wretch, my enemies would have had the world to believe me. I hope I am not supposed so now; the court martial has acquitted me of every thing criminal or ignominious." One of his friends assured him, that none called or thought him so, but persons who were obstinately prejudiced against him, and his enemies, whose interest and design it was, to deceive the nation; and it was vain to expect that they would be induced to change their opinion or do him justice, by

any reasoning or statement. This observation seemed to please him much.

In the evening he ordered a small bowl of punch to be made; and as all his friends were seated round the table, taking his own glass with a little punch in it, after having helped his friends, he said, "my friends, here is all your healths, and God bless you; I am pleased to find I have some friends still, notwithstanding my misfortunes." After drinking his glass, he added, "I am to die to-morrow; and as my country requires my life, I am ready to resign it, though I do not as yet know what my crime is. I think my judges, in justice to posterity, to officers who come after us, should have explained my crime a little more, and pointed out the way to avoid falling into the same errors I did. As the sentence and resolutions stand now, I am persuaded no admiral will be wiser hereafter, by them, or know better how to conduct himself on the like occasion." Observing one of his friends, with his eyes attentively fixed upon him while he was speaking: "my friend," said he, "I understand reproof in that grave look. It is a long time since I have spoke so much upon the subject; and you now think I say too much: perhaps I do so." "Far from presuming to mean any reproof," replied his friend, "I am all attention to what you say, sir; and though all of us here are satisfied of these truths, yet we must be pleased to hear you make them plainer." "Be it so," replied he; "but I shall only add one remark more. I am supposed not to have relieved and assisted the van. Who then did assist the van, and relieve the three disabled ships, who were upon the brink of being attacked by the body of the enemy? Though the enemy did fire upon them, there is but one witness who says they received damage at that time. May not that one witness be mistaken, who was on board the ship considerably the farthest removed from the enemy, of the three, and

“ who dropped there out of her station, by being disabled before? And why did the enemy bear away from these ships, if it was not because my division was under sail close after them, in a regular line of battle?”

The admiral was always watched in the great cabin, during the night, by officers who released one another, at twelve at night, and at four o'clock in the morning. The officer who was relieved, always made it a rule to go into the state room with the other, to shew him that the admiral was there, and deliver him over to his charge. At these hours he was seldom found awake; but the night before his execution, at both hours, he was found in a most tranquil and profound sleep.

He had always been in the habit of rising very early; and while he was on board the *Monarque*, he used to banter the marshal for not being up so soon as he was. On Monday morning, the day of his execution, he was up by five o'clock: the marshal did not make his appearance till six; and when he saw him, “Well,” said he, “I think I have beat you, at rising this morning.” Soon afterwards, when he was shifting; as he regularly did every morning, “Here,” said he to his valet, “take these sleeve buttons, and wear them for my sake; yours will do to be buried with.” He had previously given directions to be put into his coffin, with his cloaths, as he died.

As soon as he was dressed, he returned to the state room by himself, where he spent some time; on coming out, he sate down to breakfast with the marshal, as composedly as usual. He was dressed in a light grey coat, white waistcoat and white stockings, and a large white wig. These clothes he had regularly worn since he received the intelligence of his suspension at Gibraltar; for after having read the order for that purpose, he stripped off his uniform, and threw it into the sea.

About nine o'clock his friends came on board the *Monarque*: he received them in an easy, familiar manner, took each of them by the hand, and enquired after their health: they informed him, that the place of his execution was changed; that it was not to take place on the fore-castle, but on the quarter deck. This intelligence seemed to give him great satisfaction. He had constantly declared his resolution to die with his face uncovered, and to give the word of command to the platoon of marines himself; saying, "As it is my fate, I can look at it, and receive it." His friends were grieved at this determination, and endeavoured to dissuade him from it: sometimes he seemed disposed to comply with their wishes, but at other times, he replied, "No, it cannot be; I cannot bear it; I must look, and receive my fate." His friends, however, persevered in representing to him, that considering his rank, it was impossible the marines could receive the word of command from him, or look in his face, and see him looking at them, without being intimidated and awed: they hinted, also, at the consequences which might result; that he might be wounded only, and mangled. By arguments and entreaties they at length prevailed upon him, to have a bandage over his eyes, and to make a signal, by dropping a handkerchief. "If it must be so," said he, "and you insist, it must be so."

He then requested to be made acquainted with all the particulars of the form, in order that he might conduct himself strictly according to them, remarking that he had never been present at an execution. He proposed pulling off his coat; and on one of his friends telling him, that was quite unnecessary, "but," said he, "it may be said, I kept my coat on, as if afraid to receive the blow or feel the bullet." "No," answered his friend, "such a remark can never be made; and it must be more decent to make no alteration in dress." "Well then," re-

plied he, "if it is more decent, no alteration shall be made."

As soon as the admiral had agreed upon the signal he was to make, it was communicated to the commanding officer of the marines, in order that he might instruct his men accordingly; and he was also desired to tell them, that they should have ten guineas, if they conducted themselves properly. The marines were drawn up, under arms, upon the poop, along the gangways, in the waist, and on one side of the quarter deck. A heap of sawdust was thrown on the other side of the quarter deck; and a cushion placed upon it: in the middle, upon the gratings, a platoon of nine marines were drawn up in three lines, three in each: the two foremost lines, which were intended to fire, had their bayonets fixed, as is customary on such occasions.

Orders had been given, for all the men-of-war at Spithead to send their boats, with the captains and all the officers of each ship, accompanied by a party of marines under arms, to attend the execution. In compliance with these orders, they rowed from Spithead, and made the harbour a little after eleven o'clock; but with great difficulty and danger, as it blew a dreadful gale at W. N. W. and the tide was ebbing: but it was still more difficult to get up so high as where the *Monarque* lay. Notwithstanding the state of the weather, there was a prodigious number of other boats round the ship, on the outside of the men-of-war's boats, which last kept them off. No person was suffered to go on board the *Monarque*.

About eleven o'clock, Admiral Byng walking across his cabin, and observing the crowd of boats out of one of the cabin windows, took up a spying glass, to view them more distinctly. The decks, shrouds, and yards of all the ships that lay near, were crowded with men; upon which he remarked, "Curiosity is strong; it draws a great number of people together; but their curiosity will be dis-

“ appointed : where they are, they may hear, but they
“ cannot see.” A gentleman said to him, “ To see you
“ so easy and composed, sir, gives me as much pleasure
“ as I can have on this occasion ; but I expected no less
“ from the whole of your conduct heretofore ; and the last
“ actions of a man, mark his character more than all the
“ actions of his life.” “ I am sensible they do, sir,” re-
“ plied he, “ and am obliged to you for putting me in
“ mind. I find innocence is the best foundation for firm-
“ ness of mind.”

He continued to walk about in the cabin for some time ; enquired what time it would be high water ; observed that the tide would not suit to carry his body ashore after dark ; expressed some apprehensions, that his body might be insulted, if it were carried ashore in the day time, on account of the prejudices of the people against him : but his friends assuring him that there was no such disposition among the inhabitants of Portsmouth, he appeared very well satisfied on that head.

He walked out of the great cabin to the quarter deck, accompanied by a clergyman, who had attended him during his confinement ; and two gentlemen, his relations. One of these went with him to the cushion, and offered to tie the bandage over his eyes ; but he having a white handkerchief ready folded in his hand, replied, with a smile on his countenance, “ I am obliged to you, sir ; I thank God I can do it myself ; I think I can ; I am sure “ I can ;” and tied it behind his head himself.

He continued upon his knees rather more than a minute, much composed, and apparently recommending himself to the Almighty ; and then dropped his handkerchief, the signal agreed upon, a few minutes before twelve o'clock. On this, a volley was fired from the six marines, five of whose bullets went through him, and he was in an instant no more : the sixth bullet went over his head. The spectators were amazed at the intrepidity of his be-

haviour, and scarcely could refrain from tears. One of the common seamen, who had stood all the time, full of attention, with his arms across, cried out, with a kind of enthusiasm, when he saw him fall, "There lies the bravest and best officer of the navy."

The *Ramilies*, the vessel which he had commanded in the Mediterranean, was riding at her moorings in the harbour, and about half an hour before he suffered, she broke her mooring chain, and was only kept from drifting by her bridle. This circumstance struck the superstition of the sailors very forcibly.

A few minutes before his execution, he delivered to the marshal of the Admiralty the following paper, addressing himself to him in these words:—"Sir, these are my thoughts on this occasion. I give them to you, that you may authenticate them, and prevent any thing spurious being published, that might tend to defame me. I have given a copy to one of my relations."

"A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecutions, and frustrate the farther malice of my enemies: nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries and the injustice done me must create. Persuaded, I am, justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me, will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself,) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people, from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty, according to the best

“ of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability
 “ for his majesty’s honour and my country’s service. I
 “ am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with
 “ more success, and that the armament under my com-
 “ mand proved too weak to succeed in an expedition of
 “ such moment.

“ Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood; and
 “ justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my sup-
 “ posed want of personal courage or disaffection. My
 “ heart acquits me of these crimes. But who can be pre-
 “ sumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is
 “ an error of judgment, or differing in opinion from my
 “ judges; and if yet, the error in judgment should be on
 “ their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the dis-
 “ tress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences,
 “ which in justice to me they have represented, be be-
 “ lieved, and subside, as my resentment has done.

“ The supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and
 “ to him I must submit the justice of my cause.

“ J. BYNG.

“ On board his Majesty’s ship *Monarque*, in
 Portsmouth harbour, March 14, 1757.”

Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis XV.* chapter 31, mention-
 ing the condemnation of Admiral Byng, says, that Mar-
 shal Richelieu, who, from the height of a plain country,
 had seen all the engagement, and who could form a judg-
 ment of it, in vain sent a declaration to him (Voltaire,) in
 justification of Admiral Byng, which soon reached the
 King of England; but he does not give Marshal Riche-
 lieu’s declaration; the following are copies of it, and of
 the letter, which Voltaire wrote, in English, to the ad-
 miral, when he transmitted the marshal’s.

“ Sir—Though I am almost unknown to you, I think
 “ ’tis my duty to send you the copy of the letter which I

“ have just received from the Marshal Duke of Richelieu :
 “ honour, humanity and equity command me to convey
 “ it into your hands. This noble and unexpected testi-
 “ mony, from one of the most candid, as well as the most
 “ generous of my countrymen, makes me presume your
 “ judges will do you the same justice.

“ I am, with respect, Sir, &c. VOLTAIRE.

“ To the Hon. J. Byng, Esq.”

“ Sir,—I am very sensibly concerned for Admiral Byng.
 “ I do assure you, whatever I have seen or heard of him,
 “ does him honour. After having done all that man
 “ could reasonably expect from him, he ought not to be
 “ censured for suffering a defeat. When two commanders
 “ contend for victory, though both are equally men of
 “ honour, yet one must necessarily be worsted ; and there
 “ is nothing against Mr. Byng but his being worsted, for
 “ his whole conduct was that of an able seaman, and is
 “ justly worthy of admiration. The strength of the two
 “ fleets was at least equal : the English had thirteen ships
 “ and we twelve, much better furnished and much
 “ cleaner. Fortune, that presides over all battles, and
 “ especially those that are fought at sea, was more fa-
 “ vourable to us than to our adversaries, by sending our
 “ balls into their ships with greater execution. I am
 “ persuaded, and it is the generally-received opinion
 “ that if the English had obstinately continued the en-
 “ gagement, their whole fleet would have been destroyed.

“ In short, there can be no higher act of injustice, than
 “ what is now attempted against Admiral Byng, and all
 “ men of honour, and all gentlemen of the army are par-
 “ ticularly interested in the event.

“ RICHELIEU.”

“ I received this original letter from Marshal Duke de
 “ Richelieu, the 1st of January, 1757, in witness of which
 “ I have signed my name,

“ VOLTAIRE.”

In his parish church, at Southill, is the following inscription to the memory of this unfortunate officer:—

To the perpetual Disgrace of
Public Justice,
The Honourable JOHN BYNG,
Vice-Admiral of the Blue,
Fell a Martyr to
Political Persecution,
On March 14, in the Year 1757:
When Bravery and Loyalty,
Were insufficient Securities
For the Life and Honour
Of a Naval Officer.

MEMOIRS OF LORD ANSON.

GEORGE ANSON was the third son of a gentleman in Staffordshire. As all the advantages which he derived from family connexions, were obtained by means of his mother's sister, who was married to Sir Thomas Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, it is unnecessary to consider his pedigree. He was born at Shudborough manor, in the parish of Colwich, on the 23d of April, 1697. Having made choice of the naval service for his profession, he was early sent to sea; and while yet a boy, attracted the attention of his commander, by the indication of those great qualities which subsequently enabled him to attain so much distinction.

On the 9th of May, 1716, he was appointed by Sir John Norris, to be second lieutenant of the Hampshire man of war, and the Admiralty confirmed the appointment. In the following year, he sailed with Sir George Byng to the Baltic, and in the course of the voyage, saw on the Danish shore, the illustrious Peter of Russia, and the celebrated Katherine, whom that extraordinary monarch

raised to the throne, and afterwards bequeathed to her the empire. On a mind framed with that kind of ambition which subsequently manifested itself in the conduct and exploits of Anson, the sight of such a character as Peter the Great, could not fail to produce a remarkable effect. Perhaps, it was owing to this accident, that he was led, at a more advanced period of life, to think of laying the foundation of colonies, and to project, for the future amelioration of barbarous countries, institutions, which, in their nature, approximate in some points to the vast undertakings of the coercive civilizer of the north.

On the 15th of March, 1717-18, Anson was appointed second lieutenant of the *Montague*, one of the ships in the squadron with which Sir George Byng so effectually frustrated, at that time, the designs of the Spanish court on the island of Sicily.

On the 19th of June, 1722, he was raised to the rank of commander, and appointed to the *Weazel* sloop; and on the 20th of February, in the following year, he was made a post captain, and received the command of the *Scarborough*. Although subsequent achievements demonstrate, that the rapid advancement of Anson was unquestionably judicious, it is not to be doubted, that the influence of his relation, the Lord Chancellor, materially facilitated his promotion. Nor ought the effect of such influence to detract from the merits of any officer; for although the exertion of political power may place inferior characters in situations of high trust, it can never endow them with those qualities which alone ensure distinction, nor enable them to take advantage of the accidents of fortune. In this country, where the voice of the people is heard by the government, and their remonstrances dreaded by the court, it is, perhaps, beneficial to the public interests, that family influence should be exerted to promote those who are incapable of distinguishing themselves; for the errors of such men keep the nation awake to the reputation of

its arms, and direct the eyes of the public towards those officers, who, by the force of their own merits, and the lustre of their actions, contrasted with the blemishes of official dependants, show themselves qualified to preserve and augment the glory of their country.

Anson sailed with the Scarborough to the coast of South Carolina, where he was stationed three years. It was here that the bias which his ambition had taken, probably from the time that he saw Peter the Great, began to be distinctly manifested. He founded a town in the colony, to which he gave his own name, and traced the boundaries of a district which still continues to be called the county of Anson. He may, therefore, in some respects, be regarded as one of the American patriarchs, and as belonging to that venerable class of men, to whom nations ascribe their origin. Such circumstances give a universal interest to memoirs, which might otherwise be only amusing as adventures, and elevate them to the importance and dignity of history. For many ages before the discovery of America, society in Europe had taken so settled a form, that the planting of colonies had ceased to engage the attention of even the greatest princes. But since that event, mankind have seen the labours of Cadmus, of Dido, and of Romulus renewed, and the seeds of future nations planted in a new world, on prospective principles, and calculated to produce important results in the epochs of posterity.

In October, 1727, Captain Anson returned from America, and in the May following his ship was paid off. In the course of a few months, however, he was again employed, and appointed to the command of the Garland, and sailed again to South Carolina, where he remained till the autumn of the following year, when his ship was ordered home, and put out of commission.

No man ever acquired wealth or distinction without those circumstances, independent of personal qualifica-

tion, which afford opportunities for the display of address and talents. The family connexions of Anson could add nothing to his natural endowments, but by contributing to place him in the way of employments; they formed an essential part of that good luck, which is as necessary to ensure success to the enterprises of heroism, as to the other essays and modifications of genius. His domestic rank enabled him to be on terms of equal intercourse with the lords of the Admiralty, and his own merits justified them in giving him a preference in the service: he was, in consequence, seldom left long idle.

On the 19th of May, 1731, he was appointed to the *Diamond*, belonging to a squadron stationed to protect the Downs, and the entrance of the Thames. This ship, however, was very soon after paid off, but on the 5th of January Anson was appointed to the *Squirrel*, in which he was ordered again to his favourite station on the coast of South Carolina. As he was so often sent to this post, there seems to be a sufficient ground for supposing that the appointment was owing to applications originating with himself. It was natural and judicious that he should be desirous of being placed in a situation where he could perform his public duties, while he superintended his private affairs. The South Carolina station must have been more agreeable to him than any other on this account; because he had acquired extensive lands in the province, and his imagination was interested in the progress of the colony, of which he had laid the foundations.

In the spring of 1735, Captain Anson again returned to England, and his ship being paid off, he remained at home between two and three years unemployed. He had now attained that time of life, in which the hopes and conceptions of youthful genius acquire the consistency of projects and designs. The life of a sailor had inured

him to hardship, and added a relish, even for dangers, to his constitutional predilection for adventures. His residence on the coast of America had been so long and so often renewed, that it had weakened his partiality for the enjoyments of England; and the concerns in which he had engaged, had given him a taste for the rude luxuriance of unexplored nature, and awakened desires, which had for their object the applause and consideration of posterity. The motives which induced him to lay the foundations of a town, and to measure out a county to which he gave his own name, could not have been dictated by the hope of immediate profit, but must have originated in the workings of that ambition, which, fostered by the vastness of the American wilds, urged him afterwards to seek for its gratification in a voyage round the globe; in the course of which, it also led him to indulge that singular philanthropy which induced him to leave in uninhabited islands and untrodden shores, the seeds of useful herbs and vegetables for the use of the unknown native, and the shipwrecked mariner.

On the 9th of December, 1737, Captain Anson was appointed to the command of the *Centurion*, and in the February following he proceeded to the coast of Guinea, from which he returned to England on the 10th of July, 1739, having, in the course of this extensive cruise, touched at Barbadoes, and also at the coast of South Carolina. In this expedition he materially enhanced his reputation for prudence, firmness, and spirit. The French were at this time seeking pretexts for a war with England, and in this spirit had shewn a disposition to meddle with our African trade. Anson, however, had the sagacity of finding the means to prevent this, without coming to an action with the ship that had been sent to provoke an engagement, thus frustrating the pretext which might have arisen from such an event. When the designs of a

rival country are so far matured, as to be no longer equivocal, and yet are still so undecided, as to be capable of a construction different from their obvious tendency, it requires no small degree of the fortitude of forbearance in officers to withhold the indignant manifestation of their conviction, even when cautioned to do so by their own government.

In the summer of 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable, and the Admiralty explained to Anson on his return, that government intended to attack the distant colonies of that monarchy, before measures could be arranged there to anticipate the attack; and that with this view, it was proposed to entrust him with the command of an expedition against Manilla, the capital of Luconia, and indeed of all the Philippine islands. This project, however, was soon after laid aside, and another on a smaller scale was undertaken against the Spanish settlements on the western coast of South America. The preparation which had been commenced for the expedition against Manilla were therefore continued for this other object, and on the 10th of July, 1740, Captain Anson was appointed commodore of a squadron, consisting of the Gloucester, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Trial sloop, besides his own ship, the famous *Centurion*.

On the 28th of June, 1740, the blundering Duke of Newcastle, who was then one of the principal secretaries of state, delivered to Anson the King's instructions, dated as far back as the 31st of January, a sufficient proof of the procrastinating spirit in which the expedition was undertaken; but trivial in its effects, compared with the other instances of official misconduct and ignorance with which the enterprise had to contend, and to which all the extraordinary misfortunes that it suffered ought to be ascribed: indeed, when the whole of the circumstances are considered, there is less cause to admire the wonderful constancy of fortitude with which Anson's voyage round

the world was performed, than to think that any men, however high their rank, and great their station, could have had the audacity to send from England an expedition destined to encounter the hardships and casualties of war on the other side of the globe, and to traverse the stormiest and least explored oceans, in a state of decrepitude, that rendered it apparently incapable of accomplishing any undertaking, in which only common capacity and labour were required.

Anson having received his instructions, went to Portsmouth, and he found that his ships wanted three hundred men of their compliment. The Admiralty assured him that Sir John Norris, who then commanded the Channel fleet, would furnish him with the men; but Sir John told him that he had none to spare from his own squadron. This occasioned some delay, and it was the end of July before as many men were procured, as could warrant the commodore to put to sea. But they were not such as were calculated to lessen his chagrin: instead of three hundred sailors, he only received one hundred and seventy, of whom thirty-two were from the hospital and sick quarters, and ninety-eight were marines. This, however, was but a slight mortification, compared to other disappointments: the land force of the expedition was intended to consist of five hundred soldiers, but instead of men full of the adventurous spirit of youth, and emulous of distinction, of whom an expedition, destined against the golden regions of Peru should have consisted, they were Chelsea invalids, whom old age, the infirmities of wounds, and the diseases of former hardships, had long unfitted for any active service, and who had been allowed to retire on their pensions, with the hope of enjoying a short respite, before they died, from those labours in which they had spent their youth, wasted their health, and lost all the spirit of soldiers, but that submissive mind, which results from the habits of discipline. When

Anson heard of this insane appropriation of these unhappy veterans, he applied to the Admiralty for other men; but such at that time was the genius of mismanagement and personal intrigue which ruled in the British government, that even the representations of the Admiralty on the subject were not attended to, and the first lord was told, that persons who were much better judges of soldiers than either he or Anson, thought the invalids the best seasoned and properest sort of troops; and accordingly, on the 5th of August, they were ordered to embark: but of the five hundred ordered, only two hundred and fifty-nine came on board; all who had strength enough to walk deserted, leaving behind only such as were incapable, many of whom were upwards of sixty years of age, and several even exceeded three score and ten.

The imagination can hardly conceive a more distressing scene than the embarkation presented. The men were conscious of their unfitness for the service. The pride of youthful confidence had long been extinguished in their bosoms; their heads were grey, their limbs injured and frail, and the only glow that they felt, was that of indignation, to be sent upon a service, in which, without the ability to perform their duty, or the chance of having their sufferings terminated by encountering the enemy, they saw only the prospect of uselessly perishing by lingering and painful diseases.

To supply the want occasioned by the deficiency in the number of the invalids, two hundred and ten marines were ordered on board. But in this, the same consequence of the rickety understanding which at this time attempted to manage the councils of the British government was apparent; for the marines were almost entirely raw recruits, who had scarcely more of the soldier about them than their regimentals, and none of them had been so far trained as to have been permitted to fire. Such as they were, however, their embarkation took place on the

8th of August; and on the 10th, the squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's.

The effects of the shameful delays now began to be felt. The westerly winds, which become prevalent in the English Channel in the month of August, set in at this time, with unusual violence, by which the squadron was detained forty days after it had been lying ready for sea, being, by the same paralytic intellect which had rendered the project already ridiculous, ordered to sail with a large convoy of merchantmen.

Anson, aware of the consequences of the advanced state of the season, growing impatient to depart, obtained at last, permission to sail, and availing himself of the first moderate weather to get under way, although the wind was not favourable, he left the merchantmen. On the 18th of September the expedition at last sailed.

If, however, the conduct of the ministry, and particularly that of the Duke of Newcastle, deserves more resentful animadversion than the contempt which their absurdities naturally inspire, in one respect, they acted with discretion. For, in the choice of a commander, if choice can be ascribed to persons destitute of the sagacity of making any election, they had happily appointed almost the only man, who was capable, by the resources of his own mind, of counteracting the inherent evils which the dilatory spirit of the equipment had entailed on the expedition. Anson was one of those officers, who, with that just confidence in their own abilities, without which, nothing great can ever be achieved, do not scruple to avail themselves of the knowledge and experience of others. Besides all the published information, he endeavoured to procure access to manuscript and oral descriptions of every kind, relative to the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico; and in the course of the voyage, he never lost an opportunity of improving the knowledge which he had thus acquired, by a careful examination of the papers

and prisoners found on board his different prizes. In every other respect, the equipments were inadequate to the purposes of the expedition, and the deficiency was one of the least evils which Anson and his companions had to overcome. The nature of the preparations had given some notion of the destination of the squadron, and the delays in the outset afforded time to apprize the Spaniards of the expediency of taking measures to frustrate or repel the meditated blow. Celerity in the outset, might have furnished an excuse for sending disproportionate means, and the success of an unexpected attack might have justified the scheme. But the tardy spirit in which the official duty was performed, so far from affording any chance for such an apology, converted the defectiveness of the equipment into a ground for a criminal imputation. Another disadvantage arose from the delay, which would have had the effect of making the conduct of the ministers still highly culpable, even although the appointments had been greater than the end for which they were designed. The route of the squadron lay through remote tracks of ocean which had been but seldom explored, and of which, almost the only fact known, was, that the winter raged there with a constancy of violence far beyond that of the corresponding season within much higher latitudes of our northern hemisphere. To procrastinate the departure, therefore, to so late a period of the year, that there was a physical certainty, if the fleet escaped the enemy before reaching the coast of South America, it must be involved in the horrors and hurricanes of the winter round Cape Hau, cannot admit of any excuse, even although perfection had reigned in every thing else respecting the expedition :—an expedition which we have now to contemplate in the progress of a voyage round the world, as carrying with it, inherent causes of disaster; encountering the matured preparations of the enemy, and contending with the seasons and the elements.

The squadron consisted of the Centurion, of sixty guns and four hundred men, commanded by Anson; the Gloucester, of fifty guns and three hundred men, commanded by Captain Richard Norris; the Severn, of fifty guns and three hundred men, commanded by the honourable Captain Edward Legg; the Pearl, of forty guns and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain Matthew Mitchel; the Wager, of twenty-eight guns and one hundred and sixty men, commanded by Captain Kidd; and the Trial sloop, of eight guns and one hundred men, commanded by the honourable John Murray. Two transports attended the men-of-war as victuallers; the largest was about four hundred tons, and the other about two hundred. The unfortunate detachment of soldiers was commanded by Colonel Chracherode.

The same disheartening delay which had attended the preparations for the expedition, continued to accompany the squadron on the ocean. The passage from Portsmouth to Madeira is often performed in ten days, but this ill-fated fleet took no fewer than forty. That peevish spirit, so nearly allied to discontent, which so untoward a passage engendered among all on board, can only be conceived by those who have themselves experienced, at sea, the tedious effects of long continued unfavourable winds. But on this occasion, it was scarcely more than a rational consideration, that the consequences of navigating along the southern extremities of America, were rendered every day more and more dangerous.

After the squadron had remained about a week at Madeira, watering, and taking on board wine and other refreshments, Captain Norris, on the 3d of November, signified to the commodore, his desire to resign the Gloucester and to return home. This request was immediately granted, and in consequence, Mitchell was appointed to the Gloucester, Kidd removed from the Wager to the Pearl, and Murray to the Wager from the Trial, the com-

mand of the latter being given to Lieutenant Cheap. On the same day the squadron again weighed anchor and proceeded to sea.

On leaving Madeira, Anson directed his course towards the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil. In crossing the currents of the trade winds, since so well known by the published descriptions and observations of different navigators, it was found that they varied considerably from the accounts given by the theoretical geographers, on whose opinions the pilots of the expedition chiefly relied.

On the 19th of November, one of the transports was unloaded, and her cargo being distributed through the squadron, she was dismissed from the service. This incident, apparently of but little importance, appeared to be a serious event by the consequences which ensued. The other ships of the expedition had not so far consumed their stores as to be able to receive, conveniently, their respective proportions of the transport's cargo. The fleet was now in warm latitudes, and soon felt the effects of the inconvenience. On the day after the transport had been discharged, the captains of the different ships represented to the commodore, that their crews were very sickly; and that it was their opinion, as well as the opinion of their surgeons, that the decks should be scuttled, for the more effectual ventilation of the vessels. This suggestion was immediately adopted, and it had the desired effect; but there can be no doubt that the sickness, in its consequences, materially affected the spirit and constitution of the men, during the subsequent hardships which they encountered.

On Friday, the 28th of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the squadron, in longitude $27^{\circ} 29'$ west, crossed the equator. From this date till the 18th of December, nothing remarkable occurred. About seven o'clock in the morning of that day, they saw the moun-

tainous coast of the Brazil. On Sunday, the 21st of December, the fleet came to anchor off the island of St. Catherine, where Anson proposed to remain some time, the whole squadron being in want of refreshments, and many of the soldiers and seamen confined to their hammocks, afflicted with fevers, and with the calenture, a disease, less distressing by its danger than by the melancholy fancies which it occasions to the patient. His first care was to get the sick men ashore, and to purify the vessels, by washing and fumigation, a work, rendered imperiously necessary, by the noisome stench and the vermin, which the heat of the climate and the crowded state of the crews had made intolerable. Eighty men from the Centurion alone were sent ashore, sick; and every ship in the fleet was, in proportion, equally unfortunate. Twenty-eight of the Centurion's men died, and the mortality was in like proportion among the sick of the other ships.

On the 18th of January, 1741, the squadron being refitted and the sick taken on board, they left St. Catherine's, the last friendly port at which it was proposed to touch. Hitherto the fleet had kept together, and notwithstanding the vexatious delays and calamitous sickness, had met with no accident. But, on the day immediately following their departure, the weather became squally, accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder, as if ominous of the fate which now awaited them. To this succeeded a short fair interval, with light and favourable breezes; but the inconstancy of the climate which they were now traversing, was soon again speedily experienced, in a renewal of the storm, attended with so thick a fog, that the ships disappeared from each other. When the air cleared, it was discovered that the Pearl had parted from the squadron, and that the Tryal had fallen far to leeward, and lost her mainmast.

After this accident, Anson continued to steer southward, and passing the mouth of the river Plate, coasted the shores of Paraguay, taking soundings as often as the weather permitted. The result of these observations being published, contributed to improve and facilitate the navigation of that distant region. On the 17th of February, while laying at anchor, in latitude $48^{\circ} 31'$, they were joined again by the Pearl, in which Captain Kidd had died during the time of her separation. The fleet then weighed anchor and steered to the bay of St. Julian, in order to refit the Trial.

Port St. Julian is situated on the coast of Patagonia, the southernmost track of the American continent, which never having been regarded as appropriated to the Spaniards, may still be considered as common land of the world. If the descriptions which have been published of this territory be correct, it seems admirably adapted for planting a colony. It is described, as a country which presents nothing but open pastures, many hundred leagues in extent, and except a few insignificant shrubs, is totally destitute of trees. Whether it possesses any minerals capable of supplying this absence of ready fuel, has not been ascertained; but the impartiality with which nature always dispenses her bounty, seems to warrant the conclusion, that in giving so large a track ready for the plough, she has not neglected to store the earth with the other requisites for supporting inhabitants. Nor is this notion the less deserving of consideration for the figurative form in which it is given. Experiment has shewn, that coals are of vegetable origin; and should the turf of Patagonia be found unfit for burning, it perhaps may be discovered, that her apparently interminable pastures cover the carbonated remains of antient forests. What particularly recommends this country to the attention of a colonizing government, is the abundant provision already there, in those innumerable herds of cattle which range the vast

plains, from the banks of the river Plate to the straits of Magellan. These consist of black cattle, of a great stature, and of horses, the farmer's most necessary assistants. On the coast, salt is found in prodigious quantities, placed, as it were, by the hand of providence, in order to enable mankind from distant countries, to avail themselves of the provision that may be obtained from the countless herds of cattle. No other solitude that has yet been chosen for the seat of a colony presents so many advantages as are to be found in the neighbourhood of Port St. Julian. The land is ready for the plough; the fields and the shore yield the means of immediately obtaining an inexhaustible supply of provisions; and in the hides and tallow, which are so easily collected, a rich branch of trade lies ready to the settlers. In the reign of Charles II. the English government entertained some project with reference to the colonization of this part of the world. Sir John Narborough was sent to Port St. Julian; with a squadron, in order to examine the country and the coast; but the subsequent political commotions had the effect of dissolving the scheme, for nothing was undertaken after his return. Considering the particular purpose and the class of persons with which the colony in New South Wales has been planted, government might still think of establishing a colony in South America, upon a footing different from that of Botany Bay. Political circumstances, in connexion with the states of America, seems to point out the policy of not encouraging, in any particular manner, an increase of population in Canada beyond what nature herself contributes there,—and the continuing growth of our internal prosperity, seems no less to render it expedient that we should have still a station to which those who cannot find the means of subsistence at home may repair;—a colony in South America seems to be that which is wanted. From the tendency of events, it appears reasonable to think it would be advantageous,

that a people inheriting the feelings and pride of the British character, should be established from a pure origin in that quarter. It is an obligation that we are under to the human race, since we have founded nations with our worst characters, that we should endeavour to countervail the consequences, by endeavouring to establish others from a more worthy offspring; and such has been the current of affairs in Europe, that the means of doing so are more within our reach at this epoch than at any former period. The universal war which has so long raged on the continent, has had the effect of calling a larger proportion of our male population into the army, than the country will be able to receive back into her bosom when peace shall have been restored. The dreadful battles that have been the consequence, have had the effect of leaving many young men disabled from all handicraft labour, but still capable of applying themselves to agricultural employments. To provide for this unfortunate class, and to meet the exigency which must arise at the attainment of peace, it seems to be imposed as a duty on the part of government, to make a prospective and providential arrangement. To Canada, or any part of North America, it would no longer be judicious to think of encouraging a settlement of military men; and perhaps, in the whole range of the globe there is no other country which presents so proper and so accessible a station for a new colony, upon the principle of providing for the military, as the southern coast of South America.

The Trial being refitted, on the 4th of March the squadron left Port St. Julian. It was now the autumn in that part of the world, and the observations made on board the fleet constantly verified, that in those high southern latitudes at that season of the year, fair weather was always of short duration; and in contrast and proportion to the serenity and brightness of the day, was the turbulence and gloom of the night.

On the 6th of March, early in the morning, the fleet came in sight of the island of Terra del Fuego, which presented a dismal prospect of stupendous black rocks, crowned with perpetual snow. Bearing towards the straits of Le Mair, the craggy peaks and refted mountains of Staten island appeared in view, surpassing, in wildness and horror, the blasted barrenness of Terra del Fuego. The whole island seemed to be constructed with inaccessible rocks, piled in pyramidal heaps, that rose through the clouds in abrupt and ragged pinacles, tipped with a silvery whitishness that gave them the appearance of being sharpened to wound. Black precipitous cliffs every where seemed to refuse the chance of escape to the mariner who might be wrecked on this hideous coast; and menacing fragments of rock, overhanging the interior precipices, suggested to the imagination, images of a death, more terrible than that of perishing in the waves.

But notwithstanding the terrific aspect of the view on both sides of the straits of Le Mair, the sailors were observed to contemplate the scene with unwonted pleasure. The sky was clear, the breeze brisk and favourable, and the stately vessels sailed along the dark and inhospitable shores with a rapidity that invigorated the cheerful hopes which began to arise in every bosom. For the straits of Le Mair were then regarded as the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and it was presumed by all on board, that there was nothing but an open sea before them till they should arrive at the defenceless treasures of Chili and Peru, and realize those golden dreams in which they had so fondly indulged. But their hopes were like the transient brightness of the weather, and their destiny like the steadfast gloom and horror of the rocks which frowned on them as they passed. This was the last cheerful day the greatest part of these gallant men ever enjoyed.

Scarcely had the sternmost ship cleared the straits when the sky was suddenly overcast, and all the presages of an impending storm became awfully displayed. The wind shifted against the squadron and blew in violent squalls. The tide, which had hitherto flowed in their course, turned at once as furiously in opposition, and the *Wager*, with the store ship, were soon seen in the peril of being driven on the frightful cliffs of the *Saten* islands. The sea was raised into billows that surpassed every commotion of the waves that the oldest sailors on board had ever witnessed. The ships were rather flung than rolled from side to side, and the men were so tossed about on the deck, that several were killed outright, and others dreadfully dislocated by the shocks. Their sufferings were also materially aggravated by the snow and sleet with which the violent blasts came loaded, and which encrusted the rigging with ice and stiffened the sails into a consistency, as hard and as brittle as glass or porcelain.

It was now that the consequences of the delay, which had taken place in the official departments at home, began to be felt. The winter continued to pour, with increasing fury, all his horrors upon the vessels, and many of the men were incurably smitten by the frost in their feet and hands. In the midst of one of these tempests, a sailor belonging to the *Centurion* was accidentally thrown overboard. Notwithstanding the violence of the sea, he swam strong and courageously; but the crew on board could afford him no help. They saw him breasting the water as the ship drove away, and his face often wistfully rising above the waves. When they had left him so far that he was no longer visible, they knew that he was still beholding the ship passing for ever from his view.

While swift before the wind the vessel flies,
Unseen his signals, and unheard his cries;
He oft despairs, and still renews the strife
Upheld by buoyant hope and love of life:
At length he sinks.—

On the 3d of April, after a previous interval of gloomy and ominous weather, another storm arose, which exceeded, in vehemence, all that the squadron had yet experienced. In its first onset, a dreadful wave broke over the *Centurion*, and damaged both her hull and her rigging. During the night succeeding this accident, guns of distress were heard. At break of day, the *Wager* was seen far to leeward; her mizenmast, and maintopsail yard gone. Three days before this, the *Pearl* and the *Severn* were missing; and when land was discovered sooner than expected, according to the reckoning, it was believed that they had been driven upon the shore of *Terra del Fuego*, and had perished. The fate of the *Wager* affords one of the most dreadful tales in the records of shipwreck, and will be related circumstantially in the life of Admiral Byron.

After the storm had, in some degree, abated, Anson directed his course towards the south-west till he had reached the sixtieth degree of latitude; and he found that as he left the coast the weather became more equal and moderate. It appears, indeed, to have been ascertained in this and other voyages, that the winds are more inconstant and violent on the coast, than at a distance from land; so that in doubling Cape Horn, it is better to take a sweep as far to the southward as the sixty-first degree of latitude, than to pass the straits of *Le Mair* and along the coast of *Terra del Fuego*.

The moderate weather continued till the 24th of April, when the wind changed and the air became extremely thick, accompanied with another tempest. About midnight, Anson missed the remaining four ships of the squadron, and the *Centurion* was left alone. But the boisterous elements were scarcely less terrible than a disease with which the men were at this time afflicted. Soon after passing the straits, the scurvy began to make its appearance, and spread so rapidly, that before the end of

April, there were but few on board not in some degree infected. In that month, no less than forty-three men died on board the *Centurion*. Still the people were willing to hope, that as they sailed to the northward the malignity of the distemper would subside; but on the contrary, it continued to increase, to such a degree, that in the month of May, nearly double that number of corpses were thrown overboard. Before this unfortunate ship reached an anchorage on the 12th of June, such was the mortality on board, that she lost upwards of two hundred men, and could not muster more than six foremast-men in a watch, capable of doing duty.

Among the many loathsome phenomena of this terrible malady, it was discovered, that old wounds opened afresh, and resumed their former appearance and pain. A remarkable instance of this happened to one of the ill-fated veterans who had been sent from Chelsea Hospital. Fifty years before that old man had been wounded in the battle of the Boyne. He had been for more than the length of an ordinary life cured, but the scurvy forced the scar of his wound to open, and it appeared as if it had never been healed; even the callous of a broken bone, which had been perfectly formed, was dissolved, and the fracture became as if it never had been reunited.

It can neither be described nor imagined, what must have been the condition of these ships, with so terrible a pestilence on board, and exposed to such tremendous tempests. The mind is incapable, by the minutest relation of the afflicting details, of forming an adequate idea of so much collective and individual suffering. We may, therefore, conceive the criminal blame that attaches to the administration for the delays which contributed to all these misfortunes. It may be pleaded, in extenuation of the guilt of the ministers, that they had no knowledge of the dangers being so great; but they knew, to a certain de-

gree, how dreadful they were, and on this account, every possible precaution should have been taken to anticipate their effects. It is the duty of all men, in the hazardous departments of their country's service, not to hesitate in obeying the will of the government, but it is no less the duty of those who are entrusted with the government, to take care that they do not wantonly sport with lives. The responsibility which attaches to a minister, for sending an expedition at an improper season of the year, ought to be as penal as that to which a commander is liable, who may be found, in the course of the expedition, unfit and unworthy of his trust.

On the 9th of June, the island of Juan Fernandez was seen by the Centurion. Three months before, she had passed the straits of Le Mair, with upwards of four hundred men in health and vigour. Such now was her deplorable condition, shattered by storms in the hull, and weakened by disease in the crew, that taking all the watches together, she could scarcely muster hands enough to man the ship on any emergency, even with the officers, their servants, and the boys. On the evening of that day, on which she made the island, the debility of the crew seemed to have reached the utmost. Only two quartermasters and six foremast-men were found capable of duty, and but for the officers and their attendants, it might have seemed impossible for the ship to have attained the anchorage. This was the more distressing, for in the course of the afternoon, the ship had been within view of the shore, and the sylvan scenery of that beautiful land was endeared to the wishes of the unhappy men aboard, by the contrast which it exhibited to the horrors of Staten island and Terra del Fuego. They saw from the deck the precipices crowned with trees, and between the hills delightful valleys clothed with inviting verdure, and refreshed with innumerable streams and falling waters. The sick men felt their spirits revive, as they gazed on this

desired elysium, and a glowing pleasure, like the sensation of returning health, was diffused through their parched and withered frames. It is only those who have long endured the fever of thirst, and who can recal the recollection of the delight with which, in their dreams, they have approached the banks of cool and clear fountains, who can form any idea of the emotion with which the disconsolate sailors of the *Centurion* surveyed a large cascade of crystalline water, pouring itself into the sea, from a rock embossed with shrubbery, that seemed to flourish with unusual vigour by its refreshing influence; and it is only those who have awakened, as they thought of stooping to drink, who can form any notion of the pain which pierced the hearts of those invalids, whenever their fears suggested the possibility that they might not be able to land.

In the course of the night, the ship came to anchor, and at four o'clock in the morning, the commodore sent a lieutenant with a party in the cutter, in quest of a bay, which he had previously appointed as the place of rendezvous, in case of the squadron being obliged to separate. The cutter found the bay, and returned with a quantity of grass and several seals to the ship. The grass was eagerly consumed as vegetables, but the flesh of the seals was the less relished, as, during the absence of the cutter, the men on board the ship had caught a plentiful supply of excellent fish. Next day, the *Centurion* was moved round to the port of rendezvous, and Anson had the satisfaction also to see the *Trial* in the offing. On the 12th, she came to anchor, but in a condition little better than that of the *Centurion*.

Every preparation which the circumstances of the ships afforded, were now made, for the accommodation of the sick, who were for the most part so very infirm, that they were obliged to be carried in their hammocks. This was a laborious work to the few who were healthy, but the

commodore ordered the officers to assist, and also took a part in the labour himself.

It is an inseparable characteristic of genius, of that peculiarity of mind by which the possessor is enabled to improve the pleasures or the knowledge of mankind, to be in an uncommon degree sensible to the beautiful and grand phænomena of nature. Whether the endowments of Anson entitle him to be regarded as a man of genius, will best be determined, when, at the conclusion of this sketch, we come to estimate his achievements and character; his sensibility, however, to the magnificence of nature appears to have been awakened in no slight degree by the sylvan beauties of the island of Juan Fernandez. He pitched his tent on a small lawn, which lay with a gentle descent at the distance of about half a mile from the shore. In front, an avenue was cut through the woods, affording, in the prospect which it laid open, a view of the sea and the ships at anchor. On each side of the tent ran a stream of the purest water, shaded by the trees which skirted the lawn, and behind rose a tall grove of myrtle, in the form of a theatre, beyond which the inland hills and cliffs, decorated with trees, and pouring here and there beautiful cascades, were seen in various perspective, extending to the interior of the country. The anticipating consideration of Anson, in the midst of his afflicting duties, soon incited him to direct his recreation to some beneficial purpose; and in planting the seeds of useful vegetables, he at once gave an example to future voyagers, and exercised that disinterested regard for the interests of the unknown, which, from the want of being accompanied with any affectionate feeling, is discriminated from charity by the name of philanthropy.

The arrival of the Trial, so soon after that of the Centurion, induced the commodore to expect that he should be speedily joined by the rest of the squadron. For some time a constant look out was kept, in the hope of seeing

them, but near a fortnight elapsed without any of them appearing, and it began to be feared that they would never come. Such, indeed, had been the sickness aboard the *Trial* and *Centurion*, that had they continued so much longer at sea, there was reason to think every man on board must have perished; and, on this account, it began to be justly dreaded, that the crews of the missing ships had all died, and that the vessels, occupied only by the skeletons of the dead, were driven at random by the winds and waves. On the 21st of June, however, a sail was descried, but before it was ascertained what she was, the weather grew hazy, and she disappeared. For several days after, she was not seen, and the sympathy of the men ashore was powerfully excited, lest their companions at sea were disabled by disease from navigating the ship to the coast. Every eye was turned to that part of the horizon where the vessel had been discovered, and all those who were able climbed the heights, and sat anxious and melancholy looking towards the sea. On the 26th, a sail was again descried. It was discovered to be the same that had formerly appeared, and soon after it proved to be the *Gloucester*.

Boats were immediately loaded with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, and dispatched to the ship. It was found, when they arrived alongside, that the anxiety which had been felt, was but too well founded. Two-thirds of the crew had died, and except the officers and their servants, hardly a man was able to keep the deck. The stores, too, were so far exhausted, that but for this dreadful mortality many must have perished of thirst, for the allowance of water was reduced to one pint per man for twenty-four hours. Some idea may, therefore, be formed of the distress on board this unfortunate vessel, and of the grief with which she was seen from the shore upwards of a fortnight, endeavouring to make the anchorage, and obliged, at last, to bear away for sea, and to be lost sight of. Near

a week elapsed, before she was again seen, and when she came back, and the boats could a second time reach her, it was found, that in the interval, her distress had greatly augmented. All her own crew were become helpless, and but for the supply sent on her reappearance, every man on board must have perished for the want of fresh water. Her situation was the more terrifying, as it seemed to be without remedy; she had already spent a month in attempting to come to anchor, and was constantly baffled: the hopes of her crew had almost died within them, and those of the spectators on shore were also almost extinguished, when they beheld her a third time obliged to put to sea, and again to pass from their sight. The feelings of the commodore at this juncture admit of no description; the records of all antiquity furnish no trial of heroism equal to what he must have sustained.

On the 23d of July the Gloucester at length attained the anchorage: the condition of the remnants of her crew, scarcely the fourth part of the original number, can only be conceived by the imagination supplying colouring to circumstances, which it would be suffering even to describe. Still the event of her arrival was important to Anson; but some of the ships were still missing, and every conjecture respecting them was tinctured with the most frightful apprehension. The transport, with the main part of the stores, was among the missing; and bitter as was already the actual experience of disease and privation, the commodore was obliged to confess his fear of still greater suffering, by abridging the allowance which had hitherto been distributed: the joy, therefore, with which her appearance was discovered, was felt as an immediate blessing. She was several weeks behind the Gloucester, and the last of the squadron that ever joined the commodore.

About the beginning of September, when the sick were recovered by their residence on shore, and when it was

found that the transport, owing to the disasters which she had met with, was not seaworthy, she was destroyed, and her crew were put on board the Gloucester, to supply so far the place of those who had died. Anson prepared again to put to sea.

The number of sailors and soldiers with which the Trial, the Gloucester, and Centurion, left England, amounted to nine hundred and sixty-one, of whom six hundred and twenty-six had perished, leaving only three hundred and thirty-five for the three ships, a number far short of the proper compliment of the Centurion alone. What with the vexatious delays of the outset; the exhausting tediousness of the first voyage; the afflicting accidents after passing the straits of Le Mair; and the almost hopelessness of the condition in which the remains of the squadron were now about to leave the island of Juan Fernandez; this enterprise, perhaps more than any other ever undertaken, required, in addition to all the ordinary military virtues, a constancy of resolution, and a determined perseverance, of which we have no superior example.

On the 8th of September, while all hands were employed in preparations for leaving the island, a sail was discovered in the horizon: she, however, did not approach, but altered her course, and this movement suggested an apprehension that she had discovered the tents on the shore, and being in all probability a Spaniard, that she would alarm the colonies with intelligence of the British squadron. This, in one respect, could not be regarded as so great a misfortune as it would have been before the fleet had separated, because the incompetent state of the ships prevented them from attempting any operations against the settlements on land; and Anson had resolved to direct his views against the ships of the enemy, in the hope of returning home with prizes, since he was compelled by so many misfortunes to renounce the original

objects of the expedition. Accordingly, on the appearance of this vessel, the *Centurion* immediately put to sea. Having, however, lost sight of her, she continued to cruise a few days longer, and another ship hove in view : this, with the confidence which every one had in the riches of the Spanish vessels in those seas, filled all the crew of the *Centurion* with such alacrity and spirit, that when the enemy submitted as she approached, they felt, as it were, disappointed, that no resistance had been offered.

From this vessel Anson learnt that the Spanish government, fully apprised of his destination, had sent a squadron in pursuit of him ; and that the viceroy of Peru, also informed of the expedition, had laid an embargo on all the vessels in his province, in order to frustrate any design entertained against the trade : but such had been the storms which the Spanish squadron encountered, and such the effects of the delay that had arisen from the detention at Juan Fernandez, that it was thought Anson and all his companions must have perished ; and, in consequence of this opinion, the embargo had been withdrawn. Anson therefore determined to employ his squadron in cruising, which was certainly the most judicious application to which he could direct his diminished means. The Spanish prize was accordingly manned from the other ships, and each of the vessels which now constituted the squadron, was allotted a particular station. The men, invigorated by the feeling of renewed health, and by the hopes which the prize and the intelligence with which she had furnished them inspired, were cheerful in their duty, and indefatigable in their exertions to equip the squadron for sea.

On the 19th of September the *Centurion*, with her prize equipped for cruising, left Juan Fernandez. Soon after, they fell in with a large Spanish merchantman, which had been captured by the *Trial*. The gratification,

however, which this incident afforded, was soon lessened by misfortunes which befel the *Trial* herself; for the weather becoming boisterous, several days elapsed after she came in sight of the Centurion, before the commodore had it in his power to send her any assistance; and in the end she was found so much damaged, that he resolved to destroy her; which was done, and her crew transferred to her prize.

But the most prudent arrangements carry with them only a probability of success; and those chances which it is reasonable to overlook in the planning of undertakings, often prove to be the most pregnant with consequence in the execution. During the time lost by the Centurion in attending to the *Trial*, the merchantmen which Anson expected to intercept, were enabled to get into port, and the squadron continued to cruise for a considerable time, without meeting with any success whatever. The commodore, therefore, concluded that the Spaniards must have received some information respecting his squadron, and that the embargo had, in consequence, been renewed.

The details necessary to the connexion of the narrative of this celebrated voyage, are not of importance enough to merit a place in this biographical portrait. It is only those occurrences which have a moral influence, either immediately or by their effects, that belong to the province of a biographer; all other events, which have an interest independent of their connexion with character, form properly those incidents which the general historian undertakes to describe: still there were occurrences in the course of the cruise, which deserve to be noticed. It happened that a vessel was taken, on board of which was a mother and two daughters; the minds of these females had been deeply impressed with a false idea of the British character, and their terror in being made prisoners, was aggravated by the report of the outrages usually committed by the buccaneers and pirates who

sometimes infested those seas. In the greatest distress they endeavoured to conceal themselves, and the officer who took possession of the vessel, had the utmost difficulty in persuading them to approach the light; and that the courtesy of his profession secured them from insult. The pilot, who is the second person on board the Spanish ships, was, in order to quiet their fears, allowed to remain, to give them confidence in the assurances of the protection promised; and by this indulgence they recovered their wonted cheerfulness. This incident in itself, though of no apparent importance, had probably some effect in counteracting the bad impression which had been made on the minds of the Peruvian Spaniards, who at that time believed that the English were a rude and ferocious people, hardened by a northern climate into cruelty, and embued with sullenness by the constant gloom of their native atmosphere: but the compassionate gallantry with which these terrified women were treated, had a favourable effect on all their companions, and, through them, upon the minds also of the people on shore, as appears by the importance which was afterwards attached to the circumstance.

On the 11th of November, the *Centurion* captured a rich merchantman from Paita. Anson learnt from her, that the governor had heard of his squadron, and dreading an attack on the town, was removing the treasure to the interior of the country; it was therefore resolved to surprise Paita. Something of this kind was indeed become expedient, for besides the desire of booty, the number of prisoners taken in the prizes occasioned a more rapid consumption of provisions than the squadron could afford: humanity rendered it improper to land them on any desert part of the coast; and policy would not allow them to be given up without an equivalent; it was therefore justly thought that an undertaking, which should have the advantage of yielding a reward to the bravery of the

men, and a fit opportunity of getting rid of the prisoners, ought to be attempted.

The commodore having previously informed himself of the strength of Paita, determined to make the attempt on the same night. The Centurion was then about twelve leagues from the shore, and it was decided that the attack should be made by the boats. The town of Paita was open, and the harbour protected only by a small fort, surrounded by a common brick wall, and defended by one weak company of soldiers; it was, however, supposed that the inhabitants of the town might muster three hundred fighting men. Considering, therefore, the powerful effect of a battery, and that Anson could not send any force equal to the Spaniards in point of numbers, the design was certainly hazardous; but it was skilfully planned, and he knew that it would be intrepidly executed. He also made the prisoners interested in his success, by taking two of the principal as guides, and promising the liberty of the others as a reward for their fidelity, threatening them with death if they proved treacherous or negligent. The history of one of the guides affords a curious and remarkable proof of that uniformity of event which prevails in the life of every individual. Twenty years before, he had been taken by an English ship, and obliged by the captain to act, as on this occasion, in the capacity of a guide in a similar undertaking.

About ten o'clock at night, the boats being manned, pushed off towards the shore, and reached the mouth of the bay of Paita undiscovered. No sooner, however, had they entered the bay, than the people on board a vessel riding at anchor perceived them approaching, and getting into their boat, rowed towards the fort, crying, "The English, the English!" The town was alarmed, and lights were seen hurrying backwards and forwards in the battery. The British sailors gave additional vigour to their oars, and hastened to anticipate the defence which they saw

preparing. As they reached the landing-place, a shot whistled over their heads, but they were disembarked before a second gun was fired, and the guides conducted them into the middle of the town. Only sixty men were employed in the assault. As they marched along, joyous as seamen always are when they land, and animated with the hopes of an immense plunder, they shouted with so much heartiness, that the noise, joined to the sound of their drums, and the magnifying obscurity of the night, augmented their number, in the consternation of the Spaniards, to at least three hundred; and the inhabitants became more solicitous about the means of flight, than of resistance. After only one volley from the merchants, who had assembled to defend their property, no opposition was made; even the fort was abandoned without an attempt to preserve it, so that in less than a quarter of an hour from the time of the landing, the town was completely taken. In the pillage which ensued, little outrage was committed on the persons of the inhabitants, who indeed had saved themselves by flight; but the wanton spirit that rules on such occasions was strongly manifested and characterised by the peculiar humour of the sailors; they took the embroidered clothes of the Spaniards, and triumphantly put them on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets, not forgetting the wigs and laced hats; some, indeed, rather than be without a share of this kind of spoil, so ludicrously metamorphosed themselves in female finery, that their officers could scarcely recognise them.

No time was lost in collecting the treasure and the plunder of the churches; nor were the Spaniards less busy; they assembled from all parts of the country, and forming on a hill at the back of the town, paraded about with great ostentation, sounding trumpets, beating drums, and waving banners, as if the distant phenomena of war could frighten British sailors. The conduct, indeed, of the Spaniards during the whole of this exploit was very

contemptible; for notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, they made no attempt to retake the town, or to disturb our men in the possession. It was the wish and command of Anson to secure, if possible, the person of the governor, in order that a large sum of money might be demanded for his ransom; but he escaped during the first alarm of the assault. An attempt, however, was made by the commodore, to negotiate for the ransom of the merchandize, threatening, if terms were not agreed upon, that he would set fire to the town and warehouses. The governor, finding himself by this time at the head of a numerous force, despised the proposal, and with the senseless pride peculiar to his country, did not condescend even to return an answer.

When the whole of the treasure was on board the *Centurion*, the prisoners, agreeably to the promise which had been made to the guides, were sent on shore; and as the governor had refused to ransom the town, a severe but judicious intimation was given of the validity of the threat which had been made, in order to have effect in future similar transactions: the town was set on fire.

An incident transpired in the course of this affair, which shews how very little attention had been paid, on the part of the ministry at home, to conceal the destination of the expedition. Among the Spaniards, there was an Englishman who had been formerly a carpenter in the dock yard at Portsmouth; his friends knew that he was in this part of the world, and so correctly were they, in common with the public, acquainted with the objects and designs of the expedition, that they sent letters to him by the *Centurion*: but if this culpable publicity enhanced the difficulties of the enterprise, it serves to place in a more conspicuous light that decisive prudence, which enabled the commodore to bring his voyage to a brilliant and successful termination.

About midnight, on the 16th of November, the Centurion, with her companions, sailed from the coast of Paita; but on that night the harmony, which in the midst of so many sufferings had hitherto subsisted among all the men, was threatened with a serious disturbance: a jealous spirit arose between the detachment engaged in the attack, and those who had remained in the ships.

It was imagined by the men employed in the assault, that the whole of the plunder should belong to them as a reward for the risk they had run, and the resolution they had shewn; but the men on board justly regarded this as a wrongful notion, and urged, that their remaining in the ships was not owing to their own choice, but in obedience to the orders of their commander; and that if their messmates happened to have the active labour of seizing the spoil, their duty was not the less necessary to preserve it. This dispute was carried on with much heat, and rose to so great a height, that the commodore was obliged to interfere. Accordingly, in the morning he summoned all hands to the quarter deck, and addressing himself to those who had been employed on shore, commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services. He then represented to them the reasons urged by the other men for an equal distribution of the plunder, and said that he thought them just and well founded, and therefore he required the whole of the booty to be immediately produced, and ordered it to be divided among the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission: but in order to pacify those who were in possession of plunder, and thought it all their own property, he added, that as an encouragement to others who might be afterwards employed on similar service, he would give the whole of his own share to be distributed among the men belonging to the detachment on shore.

Being joined by the Gloucester, the Centurion proceeded towards California, with the intention of touching

somewhere in the neighbourhood of Panama, in order to open, if possible, some correspondence overland with Admiral Vernon, who Anson had reason to expect might be by this time in possession of Carthagena. His motive for this proceeding affords us an advantageous view of that prospective comprehension of mind, which appears to have been one of the main qualities of his character. In the event of Vernon having succeeded against Carthagena, Anson thought that he might combine with him, in conjunction with the other commanders in the West Indies, a system of operations, by which Panama itself might be taken, by which the British nation would gain possession of the isthmus of Darien; a possession which, when we consider its situation, and the prodigious interest that we have acquired in India, to say nothing of the collateral facilities that it affords to the treasures of Peru, it is difficult to conceive why our government has never yet attempted to obtain. The map has only to be inspected, to demonstrate, that of all points in the world, the best for establishing a commercial depot, is the isthmus of Darien: to the British nation in particular, such a station seems almost essential to complete that concatenation of intercourse, which is perhaps necessary to preserve our universally-extended colonies and dominions.

But, on examining papers found on board the first prize that was taken after quitting Païta, it was discovered that Vernon's expedition had failed; so that Anson was obliged to give up the design which he had formed with respect to Panama. Instead of planning operations, which should have for their object permanent conquests of such evident importance, he was constrained, by this information, to devote his whole attention to cruising, and instead of arranging a system which might have eventually had the effect of turning the stream of Peruvian

wealth immediately towards the British shores, he found himself obliged to direct his thoughts towards the attainment of temporary and personal benefit, by the capture of the galleon which annually sails between Manilla and Acapulco. In pursuance of this humble and only object that circumstances allowed him to think of, the squadron steered towards the island of Quibo, where they anchored on the 21st of December.

On the 13th of that month, having re-furnished themselves with wood, and replenished their water-casks, the ships sailed towards the station which the commodore had marked out for their cruise. The value of the galleon was greatly augmented in the minds of the men, since they found that the capture of this single vessel was now the main, if not the sole object of the expedition. In the course of the cruise, it was ascertained from prisoners taken in some inconsiderable prizes, that the departure of the galleon from Acapulco was fixed for the 3d of March.

On the 1st of that month, the squadron bearing towards the coast, observed the high lands, usually called the paps of Acapulco. At fifteen leagues distance, Anson distributed his ships in the following order: to the westward of the Centurion he stationed one of the prizes, and to the eastward two others, besides the Gloucester man-of-war, forming a curved line, each ship three leagues distant from her neighbour. As the galleon could, without doubt, be discerned at six leagues distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of view, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was at least twenty-four leagues in extent, while the squadron was so connected by signals, that the whole could speedily be informed of every thing seen in any part of the line. To render this judicious distribution still more complete, and to prevent the possibility of the galleon escaping, the cutters of the Centurion and Gloucester were

stationed at the distance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port; and they were directed to stand at night nearer the harbour, from which, as the light of the morning dawned, they were to retire again to their former distance. All these arrangements magnified in the minds of the men the riches of the galleon; and her strength was no less similarly enhanced by the preparations on board for engaging her. It was thought that none of the squadron, but the Gloucester and Centurion, were capable of lying alongside of her, and therefore as many men as could possibly be spared from the navigation of the other ships, were removed into them.

On the morning of the 3d of March, the day which had been fixed for the sailing of the galleon, every eye in the squadron was eagerly turned towards Acapulco, and every heart beat with expectation; neither the casual duties on board, nor even the calls of hunger, diverted the impatient sailors from their vigilant anxiety. The wishes and fancy seemed to acquire the mastery of the senses, and the silence and earnestness of the look-out was frequently disturbed by the joyous exclamation of those who conceived that they saw the cutters making signals of the galleon's approach. But not all that day, nor the live-long night, nor the morrow, nor the succeeding night, did any signal appear of the galleon; and the 7th of the month arrived, and she was not yet seen. It happened that passion week commenced on that day, during which, the Roman Catholics abstain from labour; it was therefore concluded that she would not put to sea until it was over. The cutters, in consequence, returned to their ships; but early on Monday, the 13th, they were again dispatched to their former stations, and the hopes of all on board were again roused to the utmost. A watchful impatience, so ardent, could not last long: by the end of the week, symptoms of a general

dejection began to appear, and passing from the extreme of hope to despondency, the men despaired of ever obtaining the prize. They meditated on the disappointments which they had already suffered; they regarded the expedition as frustrated in all its objects; and they were the more confirmed in this opinion, as they concluded, from the detention of the galleon, that the coast must have been alarmed, and that she would not now be permitted to sail. Anson himself thought the same thing, and that there was no other alternative left than the seizure of the town; but the difficulties to such an enterprise were so great, that he was compelled to abandon the intention in its conception, and to digest the bitter experience of that disappointment, which he shared in common with all his men.

All the ships of the squadron informed him, that it was necessary for them to lay in a fresh supply of water: for this purpose, they proceeded to Chequetan, and he afterwards resolved to sail for China, thus relinquishing, in appearance, all the golden expectations which had cheered his companions in their arduous voyage, and through so many bravely sustained hardships.

On the 6th of May, 1742, the squadron left the coast of America. Since their departure from Juan Fernandez, the men had enjoyed uninterrupted health, but the scurvy again began to appear, and make dreadful havock among them.

On the 26th of July, the ships having for some time enjoyed favourable breezes, suddenly met with a westerly wind, which lasted four days, during which the sea rolled prodigiously. The Gloucester's masts were shattered by the motion, and the Centurion sprang a leak: the wind augmented to a tempest, and the Gloucester was almost entirely dismasted. When the storm abated, and she could communicate with the Centurion, her situation was

reported to be such, that the commodore determined to remove her crew into his own ship, and to destroy her ; which was accordingly done.

After this new misfortune, Anson continued his course across the Pacific ocean. Nothing remarkable occurred, but the scurvy raged on board the *Centurion*, and her crew perished, as it were, by heaps.

On the 27th of August she reached the island of Tinian, which in beauty and fertility seemed to rival the scenery and climate of Juan Fernandez. The crew were immediately landed. The mortality was so great, that twenty men died on the same day ; but such was the delightful influence of the land and of the vegetable refreshments, that in the whole course of two months, which they continued at Tinian, only ten men died.

On the 12th of September, all the squadron had been dispersed and destroyed, except the *Centurion* ; she alone, of all that had doubled Cape Horn, was destined to return home. Such of the men as had by this time recovered, were sent on board : the commodore was himself ill of the scurvy, and lived on shore with a view to re-establish his health, when one night a storm came on, which drove the ship from her moorings, and forced her out to sea. The wind blew so violently, that her signals of distress were not attended to, and the frequent flashing of lightning prevented the explosion of her guns from being observed. When day dawned, and the ship could not be discovered, every one was struck with consternation ; the greater number concluded that she must have foundered, and they entreated the commodore to send a boat in quest of the wreck. Many abandoned themselves to the most afflicting and melancholy thoughts ; they saw no prospect but that of spending the remainder of their days on an island, where perhaps no European ship had ever before anchored ; they regarded themselves as lost to their country, their friends, and

their families for ever: nor did they think even this the worst which they had to fear: they thought that the governor of the Spanish settlement of Guam might send a force to seize and carry them to that island, where the known colonial policy of the Spaniards might furnish him with a pretext, as the officers were without their commissions, all of them being on board the ship, to treat them as pirates, and close their sufferings by perpetual consignment to the mines, or by the more humiliating evil of an ignominious death.

In this terrific dilemma, Anson retained his wonted steadiness, and from those resources within himself, which qualified him so well for the command of the expedition, he formed a scheme for extricating himself and his companions from their dreadful situation. He represented to them, that there was little reason to fear the *Centurion* had been lost, and that their experience ought to teach them the folly of giving way to chimerical apprehensions. He then proposed that a Spanish bark which they had captured should be sawn asunder, and twelve feet added to her length, by which she might be able to carry them to China. This idea, though affording but a faint hope, had the effect of inspiring a new train of reflections; and several days having passed without the ship re-appearing, every one betook himself with alacrity to the alteration of the Spanish vessel. It fortunately happened that the carpenters both of the *Gloucester* and of the *Trial*, with their tools, were on shore when the *Centurion* was driven out to sea, so that the work went on so well, as to give confidence to the hopes which the commodore had so happily revived.

On the 11th of October, one of the men being upon a hill, discovered the *Centurion*, and running down towards the shore, exclaimed in the greatest extasy, "The ship! the ship!" An officer hearing him, ran towards the Spanish bark and told the commodore, who was then at

work with an axe in his hand. The unexpected pleasure of the news had such an effect, that he threw down the axe, and shewed, by the liveliness of his joy, how little at heart he entertained any hope that the plan which he had formed for returning home would have proved effectual. About five o'clock in the evening the ship came again to anchor.

On the 21st of October she left Tinian for the island Macoa. The eastern monsoon was now, in the opinion of the commodore, fairly set in, and the *Centurion* proceeded with a constant gale blowing right astern; but a large hollow sea pursued her, and she laboured very much, which occasioned her rigging often to give way; for by this time it was become almost rotten, while the working of her planks increased her leaks. Still, however, as the weather was fine, the wind fair, the men in reinvigorated health, and the vessel steering homeward, there was no fear nor discontent on board. But as she passed the rocks of Vale Rete, an alarm of fire was given from the fore-castle. The imagination cannot conceive a situation more terrific to the human bosom, than that of being on board a vessel burning alone in the solitudes of the ocean. The whole crew were struck with such a panic, that had the officers not retained some presence of mind, and exerted themselves to appease the uproar, all must have met the fate which they thought inevitable. Fortunately, however, the sense of duty, or perhaps that consciousness of rank which, in all minds, is more lively than any other feeling, apprised the officers instinctively of the necessity of exerting their authority, and the fire was extinguished before it attained any dangerous height.

On the evening of the 5th of November, the main land of China was seen, and in the morning the ship was in the midst of an incredible number of fishing boats, it was thought, not fewer than six thousand; and we may form some idea of the vast population of the Chinese empire,

by the number of people thus employed; for few of the boats had less than five men on board. The English were greatly surprised at the characteristic want of curiosity in the Chinese. Notwithstanding the extraordinary appearance of an European man-of-war, none in all that vast crowd of fishermen, amounting to more than twenty thousand men, evinced the smallest desire to come on board, or to regard the vessel as any thing worthy of their attention. This apathy may possibly be accounted for, by that habitual sense, which is formed by living in a multitude, of the inutility of an individual deviating from any general practice.

On the 12th. of November the ship came to anchor in the roads of Macao, and next day Anson visited the governor to solicit a supply of provisions and naval stores; but he was told, that without an order from the viceroy of Canton, his request could not be granted: he therefore resolved to visit that city. This the custom-house officers at Macao attempted to prevent, and he was reduced to the necessity of arming the Centurion's boats, and to go in spite of any opposition that might be made. After many unavailing attempts to obtain the supplies, he found himself constrained to descend to the practice of the customary dissimulation which is necessary to counteract the cunning of the Chinese, who, on this occasion, seemed to stand more in awe of the Europeans than usual. Their pusillanimous prudence was alarmed at the sight of the Centurion, the only British ship equipped wholly for war that had ever visited their coast. The commodore had, however, reason to repent of deviating from that bold and frank conduct which is one of the peculiar characteristics of his profession. His motive, indeed, for the excessive caution that he used, was certainly praiseworthy; for he thought that were he more peremptory, he might injure the interests of the India company. In the end, he found that he ought to have proceeded with his ship direct

to Canton, and to have applied immediately to the mandarines, instead of the merchants; for the circumstance of a direct application to those ceremonious personages, would have impressed them with a higher idea of the importance of his command. Sensible of this in the end, he wrote a letter at last to the viceroy of Canton, informing him of his rank in the king's service, and of the situation that he had enjoyed in the squadron directed against the Spaniards; adding, that being now on his return to England, he had come into the Port of Macao, as his ship was leaky and greatly in want of provisions, and therefore he solicited his excellency to give orders to allow the ship to be repaired and refurnished with stores, to enable her to return home.

The letter being translated into the Chinese language, was sent to the viceroy. Two days after, a mandarine of the first class, with two inferior officers and a considerable retinue, came to examine the state of the *Centurion*. The mandarine, who was a person of more intelligence and curiosity than the generality of his countrymen, appeared so much surprised at the strength and force of the ship, that Anson diplomatically made use of his astonishment, to impress him with an idea that forbearance alone had induced himself to submit to the delays and chicanery which he had suffered from the custom-house officers. Upwards of a fortnight, however, elapsed after this visit, before the necessary orders came, and the *Centurion* was not in a condition to put to sea till the 19th of April.

During the time that the ship was repairing, he gave out, that he was bound to Batavia, on his way to England; but his real intention was very different; for he supposed, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla, there would this year be, probably, two, the last year's having been prevented from sailing. He, therefore, undismayed by former disasters, resolved to cruise for the galleons. This project he had contemplated from the

time he had been compelled to quit the coast of America ; and the cause of his impatience at the tediousness of the Chinese, was the fear that they would detain him too long for putting it in execution, with any chance of success.

Being now at sea, clear of the coast, his ship in good trim, and his men all in spirits, he summoned the crew on deck and informed them of his intention of again cruising, and that he would choose a station where he could not fail of meeting the galleons. This speech gave great joy. The men expressed their hearty approbation in three cheers, and declared themselves willing to do their utmost to obtain the prize. The purpose of the voyage was thus renewed, and the encouraging spirit of expectation again animated every heart in pursuit of that object for which they had already encountered so much hardship and suffered such grievous disappointment. The confidence, indeed, which took possession of the minds of all on board, was truly an assurance of success. They never doubted of meeting with the galleons and of enriching themselves by the capture : so strongly, indeed, were they impressed with this expectation, that one day, when the commodore enquired why he had lately not seen any mutton on his table, and knowing that the stock was not exhausted, his butcher told him, seriously, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his honour would give him leave, he would keep them for the entertainment of the commander of the galleons.

It was calculated that the galleons should reach Manilla in the course of the month of June, and on the last day of May the *Centurion* arrived at the station where she expected to intercept them. Anson lost no opportunity of improving the men in the use of the guns, in order to insure a conquest, which was to repay them for all their sufferings. As the month of June advanced, the impatience of all hands daily increased. Their minds were constantly occupied with the idea of the galleons, and

their eyes directed to that quarter of the horizon in which it was expected they would appear.

Their journals related the performance of no other duty but that of looking out for the galleons.

On the 20th of June, at sun-rise, a sail was discovered from the mast head; the news filled the whole ship with the greatest joy. It was believed to be one of the long looked for prizes, and the other was expected also immediately to appear. The Centurion instantly steered towards her. At half an hour after seven o'clock she was seen from the deck. At this time she fired a gun, and took in her maintopsails. This was thought to be a signal for her consort to come up, and the Centurion, in order to amuse her, fired also a gun to leeward. Still the galleon did not alter her course, but came boldly on. Such courage in the enemy surprised the commodore, for he could not believe that she intended to fight. The spirits of the men rose as the object of their hopes approached.

At noon, the Centurion was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake so that she could not now escape. Soon after, the galleon hauled up her foresail and lay too, with her head towards the north, hoisting her colours and displaying the standard of Spain at the maintop-gallantmast-head. The Centurion was now ready for action, and as it was the practice on board of Spanish ships, at every broadside, for the men to fall flat on deck, in order to escape the shot, Anson ordered his men to keep up a constant and separate fire, to prevent the advantage which experience had taught the enemy to expect from their practice.

A little after twelve o'clock, squalls of wind and rain came on, and occasionally obscured the galleon; but whenever it cleared up, she was seen resolutely lying too. At one o'clock, the Centurion, being within gun-shot, hoisted her broad pendant and colours. Anson observing

that the Spaniards had, till that moment, neglected to clear their ship for action, gave orders to fire with the chase guns to disturb them. His general orders, previously, were not to engage until within pistol shot. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern chasers. The Centurion then placed her spritsail yard fore and aft, that she might be ready for boarding. The Spaniard trimmed herself in the same manner. The spirits of the Englishmen were now on the start, and they treated this motion as an empty vaunt. The two ships being within pistol shot, the action began in earnest on both sides. In the first half hour, the Centurion over-reached the galleon and lay on her bow, raking her with an incessant fire. This manœuvre decided the contest; the Spaniards fell into great confusion; and after having sixty-seven killed and eighty-four wounded, while the Centurion lost only two men and a lieutenant, and sixteen wounded, the galleon struck her colours. Thus was the gallantry, the fortitude, and the patient suffering of the English sailors at length rewarded. But in the same moment that Anson exulted along with his companions in this happy completion of their wishes, one of his officers told him that the Centurion was dangerously on fire, near the magazine. Some cartridges blown up by accident in the engagement, communicated a flame to a parcel of ocum in the after hatchway, and it was rapidly rising into a conflagration. In the very instant and embrace of victory he was thus apprised of the perishable tenure by which all human enjoyments are held: such, indeed, was the peril of his situation, that even escape seemed to be denied; for the galleon fell at the same time on board the Centurion, and the fate of both appeared to be inevitable. But the commodore preserved his wonted presence of mind, and, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, calmly gave orders to the officers who informed him of the danger, to see the

fire extinguished with the least possible alarm. This was happily accomplished, and the *Centurion*, with her prize, returned triumphantly to Canton.

The chicanery of the Chinese again greatly retarded the refitting of the ships; but a fire which happened in the suburbs and threatened a general destruction of the city, the commodore, with his men, so effectually assisted in extinguishing, that the necessities which had been almost refused, by policy, were granted, in gratitude for the service performed on this occasion. The viceroy, in consequence, also admitted him to a formal audience, and afforded him an opportunity of impressing the jealous government of China with the importance of the British character, and to claim, for the subjects of the king, a degree of consideration which has since procured for them the greatest respect which the Chinese have ever bestowed on any foreigners.

On the 15th of December, 1743, the *Centurion* having taken on board the treasure of the galleon, sailed for England. The remarkable escapes with which this ship has been distinguished, continued to attend her to the last: for the commodore found that, on entering the Channel, he had passed through a French fleet, and had only been unobserved by the thickness of a fog which happened to prevail. On the 15th of June, 1744, the *Centurion* safely anchored at Spithead. Thus terminated this memorable expedition and voyage round the globe, evincing by all its circumstances and happy conclusion, that although prudence, bravery, and perseverance united are still subject to the control of fortune, they rarely fail of attaining much of what they had determined to achieve.

Anson was in the forty-fourth year of his age when he returned home. The fame of his exploits and the magnified riches of his prize, made him greatly popular with the nation. He was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and elected into parliament for Haydon,

in Yorkshire. On the 27th of December, 1744, he was appointed one of the lords of the Admiralty. On the 23d of April, 1745, he was raised to the rank of a rear-admiral of the white, and on the 14th of July, in the following year, he was made a vice-admiral, and during the winter, commanded a squadron in the Channel. In the spring, after being on board the *Prince George*, of ninety-eight guns, with Rear-admiral Warren, in the *Devonshire*, and twelve other ships under his command, on the 3d of May he fell in, off Cape Finisterre, with a squadron and convoy from France, bound to the East and West Indies.

This fleet consisted, in all, of thirty-eight ships. On the appearance of the British, nine of the men-of-war formed into line ahead of the others, which at the same time stood to the westward before the wind, with all sails set. Anson had also arrayed his squadron; but observing by the motions of the enemy, that their object was to escape and not to fight, he made a signal for his ships to chace and engage the enemy without regard to the line of battle. The *Centurion* was in the squadron, and good fortune still attended her. About four o'clock in the afternoon she got up with the sternmost French ship and opened her fire. Two of the largest of the enemy bore down to assist their companion. The *Namur*, *Defiance* and *Windsor* being next to the *Centurion*, soon also entered into the action; and after having effectually disabled the three French ships, they left them to the care of those astern, and made sail ahead to prevent the van of the enemy from escaping. The *Yarmouth* and *Devonshire* having got up, engaged the disabled Frenchmen. The *Prince George*, with Anson on board, being alongside of the *Invincible*, and on the point of pouring a broadside on board, the French commander struck his colours. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening, six men-of-war and four Indiamen were made prizes.

This splendid achievement confirmed that opinion in the public which prudence and perseverance of the admiral, in the voyage round the world, had so justly raised. There was no doubt, at this time, a conviction in the country, that our sailors were decidedly superior to those of France: but our supremacy upon the ocean was not settled, and a victory of this extent produced a degree of exultation throughout the kingdom which has not been surpassed by that of the greater achievements of later times. The French commander, in presenting his sword to Anson, pointed to the *Invincible* and the *Glory*, two of the ships which had surrendered, and gallantly said, "Sir, you have conquered the *Invincible*, and *Glory* attends you." How much this courteous spirit has since that time declined among the French! The antient and EVER-TO-BE-CHERISHED rivalry of England and France had introduced into their conflicts a mutual esteem for the respective characters of their people, and the gracefulness with which the French then submitted to misfortune, rendered them, even in battles, not more fortunate than this, scarcely inferior in dignity to their conquerors. But the brutal tumults by which their antient society has been disorganized, and that jealousy of upstarts, which thinks the praise due to others substracted from themselves, has almost destroyed those generous feelings which salved the wounds of war, and has substituted a harsh and cruel rancour which distresses the prisoner in the dungeon, and rankles the galling of his fetters.

On the 13th of June following the battle of Cape Finisterre, Anson was deservedly raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Anson, baron of Soberton, in the county of Southampton; and his lordship, on this occasion, made choice of a motto which happily expressed the equanimity with which he had conducted himself through so many dangers, to this honourable result:—" *Nil desperandum.*"

On the 24th of April, 1748, he married his relation, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Philip Lord Hardwick, then Chancellor of Great Britain. In the same year he was appointed by the king to convoy him to Hanover; and from that time, as often as his majesty went and came from his German dominions, he was convoyed by Lord Anson.

On the 12th of June, 1749, he was appointed vice-admiral of Great Britain; and on the 12th of June, 1751, when the Earl of Sandwich retired from the head of the Admiralty board, Anson was made first commissioner. In the years 1752 and 1755, during the absence of the king in Hanover, he was named one of the lords justices of the kingdom.

Hitherto, the public conduct of Lord Anson has excited continual eulogium. In the minor duties of a subaltern, we have seen him attracting the approbation of his superior officers: in the unequalled perseverance with which he triumphantly completed his voyage round the world, he has afforded a perpetual example to officers; and in the more general service of an admiral, we have beheld the great qualities of his general talents crowned with most splendid success. But in administering the duties of first lord of the Admiralty during the trial and execution of the unfortunate and indecisive Byng, a dubious shade has fallen on his character, which the biographer has not been able to remove. It is a safe political maxim, to judge of men as actuated by bad motives; and therefore, it might not be offensive to the common opinion of the world, were Lord Anson still supposed to have interfered more strongly to procure the death of Byng than was consistent with humanity, or with the magnanimity of a great mind that might have been suspected of error, or than was required by the interests of the service. For, in considering this tragical episode in the naval story of England, it is

Earl Temple was at this time 1st Lord of the Admiralty.

necessary to discriminate what might have been required by the public welfare, as well as the personal wishes and feelings of the parties concerned. Unquestionably, if Admiral Byng had been acquitted by the court martial, much of the consequences of his conduct would have been ascribed to the Admiralty, and Lord Anson must have incurred a large share of public odium. It is, therefore, not to be disguised, that he had a natural interest in wishing to escape from such disgrace, and to save the laurels which he had so well won, from the effects of so great a stigma. As a politician, he may be supposed to have been anxious for the ignominious doom of Byng; but as a man, he was not called upon after the sentence to prevent the exercise of mercy that might have been indulged: at the same time, it is not to be denied, that public motives might induce a great mind to suppress the feelings of compassion for the fate of an individual who had not proved worthy of his trust, and that Anson might have done that virtuously of which he had been accused, namely, preventing the royal mercy from extending to Byng. Nothing can sanction the immolation of a man but justice. It may be amiable to pardon a culprit, whose condemnation is questionable; but, it must be at the hazard of justice. The nature of military law does not require that life should be held of the same value as in civil law; for it is the object of military law, to repay the civil community for the honours conferred on the martial professions, by enforcing the exercise of virtues which disregard the value of life. The crimes of Byng are to be judged of, not only as they affected the state, but as they affected his profession; and if they had not been found detrimental to the former, it might have happened, that they were decidedly so to the latter. At least, this is certain, that the consequences of his conduct occasioned the loss of a valuable possession, and that it was, besides, contrary to an essential part of the twelfth article of war.

For this, he incurred the sentence of death. The court recommended him to mercy. The lords of the Admiralty doubted the legality of the sentence, as he had not been found guilty of having violated the whole article, but only a part. They solicited the opinion of the judges on this point. The judges pronounced the sentence legal. But after the board of Admiralty had signed a warrant for the execution, some of the members of the court martial expressed a wish to be released, by act of parliament, from their oath of secrecy, as if an act of parliament could dissolve a contract made with God. A bill for this purpose, however, passed the House of Commons; but when it came to a second reading in the House of Lords, each member of the court martial was separately asked, whether he had any thing to reveal which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent, and they all answered in the negative. On these circumstances, rests the whole of the charge against Lord Anson. It was alleged, that his private interference with those members of the court who entertained the scruples which had led to the introduction of the bill, induced them to give the answers which occasioned the rejection of it; and finally, brought on the execution of Byng. But the foundation of the charge necessarily implies, that the members of the court must have been equally weak and wicked, to be persuaded from doing what was right; and yet, strange as it may appear, no part of the infamy attaches to them. Are we not, therefore, justified in considering the whole as one of those groundless rumours which assail public characters in unfortunate transactions? Or, may the pretext of the scruples upon which the bill was grounded, not have been the allegations and surmises of the political friends of Byng, brought forward with a view to strengthen the recommendation to mercy, and to counteract the popular clamour which, it was supposed, would extort his death from the government?

During the victorious administration of the first Pitt, Lord Anson continued at the head of the Admiralty; and the success of the squadrons fitted out during that period, is the best proof that can be required of the knowledge with which he distributed the navy, and of the discernment which he evinced in the selection of commanders.

The last time he went to sea, he hoisted his flag on board the *Royal George*, of one hundred guns, and sailed with a large fleet, in which Sir Richard Hawke was second in command. By this cruise he deterred the French fleet not only from leaving Brest, but from opposing the descents, which, according to the good old practice of our ancestors, were made at this time on the coast of France. During the period that he blockaded Brest, he materially improved the discipline of the ships under his command, and thereby contributed to promote the strength of the navy.

On the 30th of July, 1761, he was raised to the dignity of admiral-in-chief of the fleet, and soon after sailed from Harwich in the *Charlotte* yacht, to bring her present majesty to England, and whom, after a tedious and rough passage, he landed on the 7th of September. In the February following he accompanied the queen's brother, Prince Charles, to Portsmouth, in order to shew him the fleet then preparing to sail with Sir George Pocock against the Havannah. In this visit he caught a violent cold, accompanied with a gouty complaint, under which he languished two or three months; in which time it settled on his lungs, and ultimately occasioned his death, which took place at his seat at Moorpark, in Hertfordshire, on the 6th of June, 1762.

Although the external form and frame is so sure an index of the intellectual character of men, that all the great masters of the human mind have never omitted, in their portraitures of individuals, to notice the accordance; still, except in what relates to the form of the head and

features of the face, it is very little attended to; indeed, it is not even known as a scientific study. What renders this the more remarkable, is, that the whole moral effect of the art of painting depends upon a knowledge of this harmony, and that historical artists practice it without being aware of its importance to the general affairs of life. Without an instinctive possession of this knowledge no painter could represent a transaction so as to be understood, and therefore, that some uniform and universal external signs of moral qualities as well as of operations do exist, cannot be disputed. The study of these signs would become a useful branch of education, were it reduced into system, and so explained as to be capable of being taught. In the present case, an accidental description, which has been preserved, of Lord Anson, enables us to form some idea of the truth of the science alluded to.

His memoirs have shewn us that he was firm, methodical, persevering, prudent, and decisive; that he was addicted to no excesses, and that although of the highest degree of respectability, he had none of that enthusiasm which is inseparable from greatness of character: he was, in the just acceptation of the term, an uncommonly sensible man, in which the faculty of judgment was the predominant feature of his mind; but he was not a man of genius, nor one of those rare characters who form æras in human affairs: he was, however, well fitted to assist in preserving an existing state of things sound and vigorous, and he therefore owed his fame as much to the circumstances in which he happened to be placed, as to the nature of his own principles of action. The person of such a man we should expect to hear described as handsome and well formed in all its parts, rather above the middle size; in movement easy and unaffected, and with a complexion fair and sanguine, but in the expression of the face more grave than impassioned, sedate, rather than melancholy. The sound of his voice should

also have been moderate and agreeable, and the whole of his behaviour manly, with a considerable degree of equanimity, tinged more with benevolence than pride; and such a man was Lord Anson in the prime of life. The uniform prosperity of his fortune demonstrated, that the same unison which exists between the frame and the mind, pervades the outward circumstances of the man, and makes his motives, his actions, and their effects, consistent, and reciprocally illustrative of his individual character.

MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN.

THOSE who are accustomed or disposed to inveigh against the degeneracy of persons of noble family and high rank; who strenuously and contemptuously contend, that if it were not for undue and improper influence, they would never rise to the first offices in the state, either in a military, naval, or civil capacity; and who dwell with satisfaction and triumph on the important benefits which this nation in particular has derived from men who have risen to exalted stations, notwithstanding the obscurity of their birth, and the want of family influence; while they affect to contrast the idle, profligate, or useless lives of our nobility;—have certainly not well and impartially studied the history of their own country: for had they been even loosely and imperfectly acquainted with it, they must have known, though their dark and illiberal prejudices might have rendered them slow to acknowledge, that Britain owes much to her noble families as warriors, as well as statesmen.

It will not be denied, that high birth and rank pave the way for rising in the state, as well as in the navy and army, even in this country: but will any one be so stupid,

or so prejudiced and illiberal, as to contend, that men ought to be cut off from all chance of benefiting their country, and distinguishing or enriching themselves, because they happen to have been born of high and noble families? That in other countries there have been very many instances and proofs of improper and almost exclusive powers being conferred on noble families, there can be no doubt; but in Great Britain it is far otherwise: the nation keep such a close, constant, and jealous watch over the proceedings of their governors, and especially where they think that the honour and interest of the country might be injured or compromised by the appointment of unfit persons, merely because they were of high rank and family, that it seldom happens that such appointments take place. At the same time, we ought to guard against the other extreme: perhaps all who are not distinguished by noble birth, are too apt to cry out against its degeneracy or profligacy; but if those who are thus distinguished, are not permitted or even encouraged to serve their country, is it not highly probable that their degeneracy and profligacy will increase and spread, instead of being diminished? One great cause why the very poor, and those in the very lowest ranks of society, as well as those who are placed in the highest ranks, are less distinguished for propriety of behaviour, and perhaps, it may be added, for talents, is, that they are in the one case below, and in the other, above the influence of those motives which operated towards the production and exercise of talents, and towards propriety of behaviour among the middle classes of society. The former class cannot be depressed lower, and the latter class can hardly be raised higher by any line of conduct they may adopt; and both classes have less dependence on the mass of society, than those who move in the middle ranks of life. It is therefore of the utmost consequence, that those who from

their high birth are, as it were, by nature, in a great measure, taken out of the due and salutary influence of public opinion, should as much as possible, by the institutions and usages of the state, be again placed within it; and for this purpose, nothing can be so effectual as opening the offices of the state, either civil or military, under proper regulations, to persons even of the highest birth and rank.

We are well aware of the very natural and obvious objection which may be urged against this doctrine: it may be said, that if such persons, while exercising the civil or military functions of the state, do wrong; if they even materially injure or disgrace their country by their incapacity, profligacy, or misconduct, they cannot be so amenable to the laws and justice of their country, as if they were men in the ordinary ranks of life; but this objection hardly applies to this country, where the voice of the nation, if strongly and generally expressed, will be heard, and heard too in such a manner, as will compel any ministry to attend to it with great deference and respect.

In these remarks, we have considered the subject generally; we shall now view it as more particularly regarding the propriety and advantage of encouraging our noble families to enter into the navy; and so far as the navy is concerned, it appears to us, that the objections which we have examined and endeavoured to remove, lie with still less force; and that in such a country as Britain, the navy, in a greater degree, perhaps, than even the military or the civil functions of the state, holds forth proper situations for our nobility. In order to counteract the tendency which their birth and education must naturally and necessarily give them to indifference to public opinion, it seems proper, if they do enter into the service of the state, that they should enter into that part of the service on which public interest is fixed with the most watch-

ful and jealous eye; for thus they will be induced to be more on their guard, and, in all probability, the habits of indifference or disregard to public opinion, which they may have acquired will be destroyed; besides, they, as well as the rest of the nation, must feel that the peculiar glory of Britain has been raised up to its highest dignity and fame by the achievements of her navy; and with this feeling, it is impossible that they should not be anxious, at least, not to diminish and tarnish that glory.

If what we have now offered be well founded, the nation, instead of regarding with jealousy, ill-will, or apprehension, the introduction of our noble families into the navy, ought rather to consider the circumstance as beneficial, both to the country and to the individuals themselves. The benefit which may be conferred on persons of high rank and birth in this country, by encouraging them to devote themselves to the military and naval services of the state, is not, however, confined to the operation of public opinion on them, but ought also to be ascribed, in no small degree, to another circumstance, which, if not peculiar to this country, exists here more generally than in other countries. In Great Britain, the highest offices of the state, both civil and military, are open to all ranks and descriptions of persons; and all ranks and descriptions of persons have attained to them: our nobility, therefore, when they serve the state, must serve along with men who have no high birth to boast of; and by associating with such men, probably possessed of a higher civil or military rank than themselves, they must be benefited, if it were only by being convinced or reminded, that in Britain, noble birth and family influence are not the only, or even the most certain and common roads to important and honourable civil or military stations. This conviction, however, will operate most strongly in a military and naval line of life; since in these, especially in the latter, the connexion and intimacy

among those engaged in it must necessarily be very constant, close, and intimate; and the very strict discipline of the navy—a discipline, that in many instances must be exercised over such of our nobility as enter into it, by persons very much their inferiors in birth and rank, cannot fail of being of great and essential benefit to them, both in their professional life, and in their general habits, feelings, and sentiments. We have been led into these observations, as preparatory to and connected with the life of Admiral Boscawen; a man who could boast of such rank, both by his father and mother's side, as few who choose a naval life could lay claim to; and who, it appears to us, is a striking instance of the truth of the remarks which we have offered on this subject.

The ancestors of Admiral Boscawen, according to a custom to which we have had occasion more than once to advert, received their name from the lordship and manor which belonged to them: this was situated in the county of Cornwall; it is called Boscawen Rose. It appears that they were in possession of this property in the reign of King John: the first of the family who is mentioned in the visitation of the heralds, in the office of arms, is Henry de Boscawen; he had two sons, Robert and Allan; the latter had issue, John, who left no male issue: his titles and estates, however, devolved to his daughter Mirabel.

Robert de Boscawen, the eldest son of Henry, was living in the reign of Henry III.; he left a son, named also Henry, from whom was descended John de Boscawen, who succeeded to the title and estate in the year 1334. The family estate and connexions were much increased and strengthened by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of John de Tregothan, of Tregothan, in Cornwall: by her he had two sons, John his heir, and Otho, who died without issue; he had besides a daughter, who married into the family of Chiderton.

By the marriage of John, who succeeded to the estate in 1357, to the daughter and heir of another powerful and wealthy family in that part of England, the riches and influence of the Boscawens were still farther increased: indeed, by several other subsequent marriages, they extended their influence, and added to their family property.

The subject of the present memoir was the third son of Hugh, first Lord Viscount Falmouth, and Charlotte, who was eldest of two daughters and co-heiresses of Charles Godfrey, esq. by Arabella Churchill, his wife, sister to John, Duke of Marlborough: he was born on the 19th of August, 1711. No account is handed down respecting the talents and disposition which he displayed while he was young; nor respecting the events of those years, when the character is generally formed. Indeed, the biographer has too often occasion to notice and lament, that his province, which would otherwise be very fruitful of interest and instruction, is rendered comparatively irksome and barren, by the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of learning the early events of those whose lives he has undertaken to record. Of the utility and interest of the study of biography, even as it is generally obliged to be written, there can be no doubt; but how much more interesting and useful would it become, if we could minutely, regularly, and satisfactorily trace the formation of character; if we could point out distinctly those circumstances, which gave the leading bias to the mind and pursuits; which first called forth those talents, which afterwards astonished, delighted, instructed, or benefited mankind; if, in short, we could trace the growth of all that is noble in the patriot, the statesman, or the warrior: but it seldom, indeed, occurs, that such materials can be obtained; at least, on such good and accurate authority, that they can be stated with certainty; the biographer therefore is compelled to conjecture, or to pass over

altogether, in most instances, the early incidents of the lives of those whom he has undertaken to delineate. Such is the case with Admiral Boscawen: all that we know is, that he expressed a boyish fondness for a seafaring life; and that in consequence of this manifestation, he was sent on board a frigate, as a midshipman, at the age of twelve years; but we are totally uninformed, whether this boyish fondness arose from any particular event or circumstance which happened to him while a boy; nor do we know whether his natural disposition and talents were of that description, which seemed to point him out for a seafaring life. We may, however, fairly suppose that they were; for it is hardly to be imagined that his parents would have indulged this predilection, had they not been convinced, that the frame both of his body and mind were fitted for the active and arduous exertions which the navy expects and demands.

As a midshipman, he served the usual time, when he was raised to the rank of lieutenant. In this rank he signalized himself for those qualities, which gave promise of that excellence in his profession, which he afterwards attained to: he did not consider mere bravery as the only requisite in a British sailor; but while on all occasions he displayed cool and unshaken courage, he seemed resolved that that courage should be as useful to his country, and as honourable to himself as possible, by taking care to unite with it a most intimate and extensive knowledge of a seafaring life: in short, while he was yet a lieutenant, he gave indications, which could not be mistaken, that he would be a brave man, and an excellent seaman.

On the 12th of March, 1737, he was raised to the rank of captain, and appointed to the command of the *Leopard*, a fourth rate, of fifty guns: there are no traces of the length of time during which he continued in the command of this vessel, nor of the events which occurred.

The next notice which we have respecting him, carries us forward to the year 1739, when he was appointed to the command of the Shoreham frigate; and in this vessel he was ordered out to cruise on the Jamaica station, at the commencement of hostilities with Spain. It was intended that the Shoreham should have formed one of Admiral Vernon's fleet, when he sailed on the expedition against Porto Bello; but in consequence of her needing some repairs, it was judged proper not to employ her on this enterprise. This was a great disappointment to Captain Boscawen, who had set his mind on participating the expected glory and riches of the enterprise: he was resolved, however, to go if possible, though his vessel was not to join the fleet, and therefore requested that Admiral Vernon would allow him to serve as a volunteer. This request the admiral very cheerfully granted; and when Porto Bello was reduced, he selected Captain Boscawen as one of the officers to superintend and direct the demolition of the fortress. After this, he resumed the command of the Shoreham, which was now again fit for sea; and in the year 1741, he sailed with Admiral Vernon against Carthagea. In this expedition, an opportunity was given him of displaying his spirit of enterprise, and contempt of danger, for which he had already honourably distinguished himself. The enemy had erected a fascine battery on the island of Baru: this battery, as it very much obstructed the operations of the army against the castle of Bocca Chicha, it was resolved to capture or destroy. The attempt was acknowledged to be one of considerable danger and difficulty, not only on account of the strength of the place, but on account also of the obstinate resistance which might be anticipated from the Spaniards, who were well aware of its importance: but as little could be done till it was taken or destroyed, and as delay, under the circumstances of the army, was particularly to be

avoided and guarded against, it was resolved to send a considerable force against it: this force consisted of two hundred soldiers, and three hundred sailors, and the command of the latter was given to Captain Boscawen.

It was at first intended and planned, that the enterprise should be effected on the 17th of March; but in consequence of the excessive violence of the wind, which absolutely cut off all hopes of success, it was found necessary to defer it till the 19th of that month. About midnight, every thing being ready, and the whole arrangements complete, the boats left the ship: they first rowed towards the shore, about a mile to leeward of the battery which they were to attack. They were induced to adopt this mode of proceeding, in order that no alarm or suspicion might be given by the noise of their oars. As soon as they reached the shore, Captain Boscawen leaped out of the boat, and was instantly followed by the seamen: putting himself at their head, he pushed on towards a small sandy bay, to which there was a narrow channel between two reefs of rocks: here the enemy had erected a battery of five guns; of this battery the British were completely ignorant, so that they had advanced to the very muzzle of the guns, before they perceived their danger. Immediately the enemy opened a heavy fire on them, anticipating their confusion and route under such circumstances; but the British, though surprised and taken unawares, were not daunted or confused; their brave leader was always distinguished for presence of mind: he was convinced, that if there was any delay or backwardness, they would be all lost, and the enterprise would completely fail; he therefore rushed forward, his men followed him, they entered through the embrasures, drove the enemy from their guns, not allowing them time to make a second discharge; and thus, with comparatively

little loss, made themselves, in a very short space of time, masters of this important position.

As soon as the Spaniards in the battery, that was to be the next object of attack, perceived what had happened, they turned three pieces of cannon on the British; and began a very brisk fire with grape shot: had their pieces been directed with skill, they might have done a deal of mischief, but being too much elevated, very little injury was sustained. Indeed Captain Boscawen and his party were not men to stop short in the midst of their success: they knew the advantage which they had gained, and they were resolved to push it to the utmost. Accordingly they rushed forward in the most gallant and undaunted manner; drove the enemy from their principal post, and carrying the battery almost in an instant, they spiked the guns, tore up and burnt the platforms, destroyed the carriages, guard houses, and magazines; and then returned to their ships. But their exertions and enterprise were again to be called forth; for the Spaniards as soon as they could return to this battery, set themselves most strenuously and indefatigably to repair it: they well knew its importance, and they were resolved this time, if possible, to put it in such a state of defence, as should set at naught all the attempts of the British against it. But they knew not the enemies with whom they had to contend, and whose assaults they had to guard against: in a few days indeed they had the satisfaction to perceive, that from the repaired battery, they could bring six guns to bear on the British fleet: but their satisfactions and the fruits of their labour, were of very short duration, for Captain Boscawen was again sent to attack it. It was resolved, however, this time to change the mode and nature of the attack; and he was accordingly ordered to take in his own vessel, the Shoreham, and the Princess Amelia and Lichfield, and anchor them as near the battery as possible: as soon as they reached a proper

station and distance, they were directed to bring their broadsides to bear on it: the next step was to land a detachment of seamen under the protection and cover of the fire from the ships. These different measures were carried into execution with so much judgment and promptitude, that the enemy took the alarm, and fled from their battery without even firing a shot.

Captain Boscawen continued to command the Shoreham till the death of Lord Aubrey Beauclerk, who was killed at the attack, on the castle of Bocca Chicha, when he was promoted to the command of his lordship's vessel, the Prince Frederic, of seventy guns. As he had displayed great attention and judgment in superintending and directing the demolition of Porto Bello, he was again appointed to a similar service, when it was resolved to give up the idea of any further attachment to this part of the Spanish settlements; accordingly under his eye and directions, the different forts of which the British had made themselves masters, were destroyed.

In May, 1742, he returned to England, anchoring at St. Helen's on the 14th of that month, after a passage of nine weeks, from Jamaica; he was sent home with advice, that the fleet and army under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, were, when he left them, on their way to attack Panman and cross the isthmus of Darien. From this period, till the year 1745, he appears to have been engaged to cruise in the Channel; being removed during the course of that year, from the Prince Frederic, to the Dreadnought of sixty guns. During this cruise, no event of any importance or interest occurred, except the capture of a French frigate, called the *Medea*. In the beginning of the year 1746, he was appointed to the command of the Royal Sovereign, which was employed as a guard ship at the Nore:—This appointment, which in common times, would have been one of little trust, and calling for the exercise and display of little

talent, at this period was one of great importance, for the rebellion of Scotland, rendered it necessary for government to fit out an extraordinary number of small vessels, as cruisers: these vessels, for the most part were fitted out in the Thames, and Captain Boscawen was directed and empowered to superintend their equipment, and hasten them to their respective places of destination. He therefore examined them as they passed the Nore, and appears to have discharged his duty on this station, in a very judicious and satisfactory manner.

As soon as there was no further occasion for his services in this way, he was appointed to the command of the *Namur*: this vessel had formerly carried ninety guns; but having been repaired, she was now mounted with seventy-four. In November, 1746, he was ordered to act, as commander of a small squadron, to cruise at the entrance of the Channel: during this cruise, he captured two vessels of some importance; one of them was the *Intrepid*, a privateer from St. Maloes, carrying twenty guns and two hundred men: the other was a dispatch boat, from America, for France, with intelligence that the expedition under Admiral de Jonquiere, and the Duc D'Anville, had totally failed, and that the latter was dead.

In 1747, he was Captain in the fleet, under the command of Admirals Anson and Warren; and in the battle with the French squadron, under M. de Jonquiere, on the 3d of May, distinguished himself very much, by his skill and bravery. His ship was amongst the first who came into action; and as soon as he could commence fighting with the enemy, he continued to harass and delay them in such a manner, as enabled the rest of the British fleet to come up. During the whole of his manœuvres on this occasion, he distinguished himself by his excellent seamanship; for the French fleet having got the weather gauge, kept up a constant and well directed fire on the English ships, while they were turning to windward to form the

line abreast of the enemy, Captain Boscawen perceiving this, and fully sensible of the damage which the British vessels must sustain, before he could get fairly at the enemy, resolved to exert himself, in order to place the British on a more equal footing with their opponents: he knew that his own vessel sailed extremely well, and as she was also the leading ship of the van, he pressed forward with a croud of sail, received the greatest part of the enemy's fire, and as we have already remarked, harassed and delayed them, till the other British ships could come up to his support:—thus not only enabling them to join in the battle sooner than they otherwise could have done, but also in a less shattered condition. In this action he received a severe wound in his shoulder, by a musket ball. His conduct on this occasion recommended him to the favourable notice of the Admiralty: indeed, it is plain from the circumstances and dates of his various promotions, that his own personal merits and professional services, and not family connexions or influence raised him in the navy.

On the 15th of July, 1747, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and this promotion was soon afterwards followed by an appointment of a very singular and almost unprecedented nature and description. It had been judged proper by ministers to send a large naval and military force to the East Indies; and Admiral Boscawen was appointed to command, not only the fleet that was ordered to this quarter of the world, but also all the land forces employed on the expedition. For this almost novel appointment, much abuse and censure was thrown on ministers: it was said that they were influenced by improper motives;—that the impropriety of such kind of appointment had been so strongly felt, that since the reign of Charles II. no person had received such a commission, as that which was conferred on Admiral Boscawen, except the Earl of Peterborough. But though the opposition at

the time conceiving this to be a very fair topic of animadversion, lost no opportunity of censuring ministers, yet it does not appear, that Admiral Boscawen was at all blamed: nor did the military officers, or soldiers complain that they were to be commanded by a naval officer.

The expedition sailed from St. Helen's on the 4th of November, 1747: at first the wind was fair; but it soon changed. The admiral, however, was so extremely anxious to get out of the Channel, that he preferred beating against the wind, to returning into port: at last, however, having encountered some severe gales, he was compelled to put into Torbay, where the fleet anchored about eleven o'clock on the 10th of November: the delay here was not long, for the wind becoming favourable, Admiral Boscawen put to sea again the same evening, and had nearly made the Land's end, when a head wind sprung up:—but he was now determined to persevere. At length on the 13th of December, he reached Madeira. He was obliged to continue at this place till the 23d, partly in order to collect his scattered ships, and partly in order to repair their damages, and recruit his stock of provisions and water. On the 29th of March, 1748, the fleet anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope: here the admiral resolved to land his men for a short time; and he therefore gave orders that land should be cleared for an encampment; this was accordingly done, but in consequence of blowing and rough weather, the troops could not land till the 6th of April, when the whole were encamped: they consisted of three battalions, with artillery. No officer, bred and accustomed to the land service from his earliest youth, could have paid more attention to the comfort of the men than Admiral Boscawen did; the strictest discipline and order were kept up, while at the same time, no pains were spared to recruit and refresh the troops. The officers were astonished to perceive that Admiral Boscawen paid so much attention to these things: but on

this occasion, he plainly proved that his talents were of no ordinary kind;—that he was, in a very eminent degree, possessed of that uncommon but most useful talent, which enables a man to accommodate himself, and to direct the powers of his mind to the most unusual circumstances, and to the proper discharge of duties, novel to him. As Admiral Boscawen also, sensible of his own inexperience, solicited the assistance and advice of the land officers, they did not murmur at his appointment, but, on the contrary, bore cheerful and sincere testimony to his merits and services.

The expedition was delayed at the Cape a much longer time than the admiral intended or expected, in consequence, it is said, of the following circumstance:—When the fleet sailed from England, there were five East Indiamen belonging to it, with troops on board: these vessels parted with the fleet, with the intention of pushing forward and reaching the Cape of Good Hope before their consorts, in order that they might dispose of their private trade to more advantage; but they were disappointed; for they did not arrive at the Cape till long after the rest of the fleet, and Admiral Boscawen was obliged to continue there till the end of April waiting for them.

On the 8th of May, Admiral Boscawen's squadron, along with six ships belonging to the Dutch East India company, sailed from the Cape: they encountered for a considerable length of time, very adverse winds, a circumstance by no means usual at this time of the year. In consequence of this, they did not reach the island of Mauritius till the 23d of June. By the instructions which had been given by the British ministry, to the Admiral, he was directed to attack this island, on his passage to the coast of Coromandel, if, on investigating its state of preparation and defence, he should judge the attack to be prudent and practicable. As soon, therefore, as he came in sight of it, he called a council of war: the first thing

to be determined upon respected the passage which the vessels ought to take in going in: the result of these deliberations was, that the men-of-war should lead in line of battle, between Lay island and the Gunner's Coin, and that the East India ships should follow them. Before night, they had got within two leagues of Fort Louis, where the admiral deemed it proper to bring his ships to an anchor, in a bay, between the mouths of two small rivers. Before the vessels came to an anchor, a party had been sent in a boat, to reconnoitre the position and strength of the enemy: according to their account, they had discovered only two places where it was practicable, to make a descent; and these places were defended by two fascine batteries, each of which mounted six guns. Here, however, the fleet passed, though they were fired on by these batteries.

The next day, it was ascertained that the enemy had raised other batteries, of the same description as the former, at the entrance of the two rivers; and they were seen hard at work in the wood opposite to where the squadron lay, throwing up intrenchments. As it was of the utmost consequence to the success of the enterprise, to prevent the enemy from going on with these works, Admiral Boscawen gave orders for the Pembroke, which lay nearest the shore, to fire upon them: at the same time he dispatched an officer, on whose judgment and accuracy he could safely rely, along the shore, to reconnoitre the coast and fix on a spot where the troops might be landed with the least difficulty, and in the most orderly and expeditious manner. This officer, on his return, informed the admiral, that the batteries and means of defence which the enemy possessed, were very numerous and respectable;—that he had been fired upon from eight batteries, as well as from the forts, at the entrance of the harbour;—that a large ship, with two tier of guns, lay with her broadside across the mouth of it;—that there were thir-

teen other ships within, several of which were large, that were either actually ready, or fitting for sea;—and that, as far as he was able to judge, it was impracticable to land any where to the eastward of the harbour, on account of the thickness of the woods, which came down close to the water side. In consequence of this information, Admiral Boscawen resolved to alter his mode and place of attack, and to proceed beyond the river to the westward of the town. Still, however, it was extremely doubtful whether a landing here was practicable, and in order to ascertain this point, the masters of six of the line of battle ships were directed to sound along the shore, and ascertain the depth of water. Their report was, if possible, still more unfavourable than that of the officer who had been sent before to reconnoitre; for they stated, that a reef of rocks ran along shore, at the distance of twenty yards, on account of which, it was impossible for boats to land, except at the mouth of the river, where the fleet lay, or at the harbour; but a landing at either of these places would be attended with the utmost difficulty and danger; for the harbour was strongly protected by batteries, and the channel was not above one hundred yards wide, and rendered still more difficult of access from the circumstance that the wind almost always blew off shore. From this report, it was but too evident, that no serious attempt could be made against this possession of the enemy: but as Admiral Boscawen always gave up a point on which he had set his mind, or which he thought his country expected him to carry through, with reluctance, he called a council of war, before whom he laid his instructions with respect to attacking the Mauritius. The council coincided with the admiral, that the enterprise should not be abandoned, without another attempt to discover a proper landing place; since, if they could discover such a place, they entertained little doubt but what they could ultimately succeed. It was, therefore, resolved to send three boats

to endeavour to get a prisoner from the shore, from whom they might learn where a proper and safe landing place was to be found; but the attempt was fruitless: and the council being again assembled, resolved to give up the enterprise altogether, and to proceed with the utmost expedition to the coast of Coromandel, so as to arrive there, and begin operations before the monsoons shifted.

By the delay which had taken place at the Mauritius, the ships were much straightened for water and provisions, and two days elapsed before they could sail, which were employed in dividing those articles equally among the ships. As Admiral Boscawen knew he had no time to lose, he passed with his fleet, through the islands and sands to the northward of Mauritius, and on the 29th of July the whole squadron arrived safe at Fort St. David's: here he found a fleet under the command of Admiral Griffin, upon whose return to England he assumed the command of the whole. By the junction of these two squadrons, Admiral Boscawen had under him, a greater naval force than any European nation had ever before possessed in those seas: in all, there were thirty ships, thirteen of which were of the line. With this force, much might be done, if no delay or mismanagement took place; and Admiral Boscawen, with that promptitude of decision for which he was always distinguished, resolved, without loss of time, to proceed against Pondicherry. He knew that the French were aware of his being in those seas;—that they expected to be attacked; and that in order to resist the attack, they were rousing up and collecting their allies: it was therefore extremely advisable to attack them before they were reinforced. The troops and stores were therefore landed, and a camp was formed about a mile from Fort St. David's: on the 8th of August, the army began its march, with Admiral Boscawen at the head of it. The first strong place they came to was Aria Coupan, near a river of the same name. Against this he determined

to proceed, understanding from some deserters, that its garrison consisted only of one hundred men : the village was soon taken, but no impression could be made on the fort, in consequence of the blacks, who were employed in carrying up the entrenching tools, all running away at the first fire. As soon as the enemy perceived that the British could not erect the battery which they intended, they opened a brisk fire, in such a direction as completely flanked the British position : it was, therefore, judged advisable to retire to the ships, and bring ashore cannon and proper materials for raising batteries ; but when these were landed, and the fort more closely reconnoitred, it was ascertained that it was regularly defended with a ditch and covered way, and therefore must be approached in a regular manner. In these approaches, the commanding officer of the artillery was wounded, and died soon afterwards. After some resistance, the British succeeded in gaining possession of Aria Coupan, and subsequently, of a strong fort near Pondicherry, which the enemy precipitately abandoned. From this time till the 25th of September, the troops were employed in constructing batteries to act against the town itself, which they were now in great hopes of reducing : but the season was already far advanced, and the enemy formed an inundation in front of the works, which rendered it impossible to carry them on any further. Under these circumstances, Admiral Boscawen resolved to annoy the garrison as much as possible, in the hopes of thus compelling them to surrender ; but he was disappointed : and the strength of his army being much reduced by sickness and fatigue ; the ships not being of the use that was expected against the enemy's works, and the monsoon and rainy season being on the point of setting in,—it was resolved, in a council of war, to reimbark the stores and cannon, and raise the siege. In the retreat, the admiral is said, by one who was present at this expedition, to have conducted

it so ably, that the enemy never ventured to molest him; “and through the whole of this unsuccessful expedition, “he shewed himself as able a general, or land officer, as “he before had done in his own proper line of service; “for no commander whatever could have done more than “himself, with the small and inconsiderable force he had “under his orders.”

Shortly after this unfortunate expedition, intelligence was received in the East Indies, of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; but the admiral did not immediately sail for England. The fleet encountered a most violent storm on the 13th of April, 1749, in which the *Namur*, which bore the admiral's flag, and two other vessels, were unfortunately lost in the road of Fort St. David's. The admiral was, providentially, ashore at the time, and about seventy of the men were sick in the hospital; but almost all the men who were on board perished. On the 19th of October, 1749, he sailed for England; and on the 14th of April, in the following year, he anchored at St. Helen's.

As the nation was now at peace, there was no occasion for his professional services; he therefore devoted his time to the faithful, conscientious, and regular discharge of his duty as a member of parliament. In June, 1741, he had been chosen for the borough of Truro, but in consequence of his employments, he could not attend for any length of time. On the 12th of November, 1747, he was returned for the borough of Saltash, as well as Truro; but he made his election for the latter place. In parliament, he did not officiously put himself forward on questions or subjects, out of the line of his experience or information; but when he did speak on points connected with the navy, what he said was remarkable for good sense, and was always listened to with due and flattering attention. It is said, that he was often consulted by ministers on naval affairs; and on the 22d of June, 1751, he was appointed one of the lords of the Admiralty. This situation he held

during the remainder of his life. On the 4th of February, 1755, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue; and on the prospect of hostilities with France, it was resolved to employ him on a very important service. France had not yet declared war, nor committed any act of direct and unequivocal hostility; but they were very active and busy in equipping a formidable force in their different ports. This fleet was to be commanded by Mons. Bois de la Motte; and the object of it was ascertained to be our settlements in North America. To watch the motions of this armament, Admiral Boscawen was selected: it was certainly a post of considerable difficulty and delicacy; for he was to be sent out against a fleet not avowedly hostile, and which therefore he was not to consider or treat as such, while, at the same time, he was to be very suspicious of its movements and proceedings. On the 27th of April he sailed from Plymouth, with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having on board, two regiments of soldiers. Before he sailed, however, the delicacy and difficulty of his situation were in a great measure done away, since ministers, from the information they had received, had now no doubt of the hostile intentions of the French, and therefore thought themselves justified in instructing him to view them accordingly. A very short time after he sailed from Plymouth, a reinforcement of six ships of the line and a frigate was sent after him.

The French admiral seems to have learnt, or suspected that he was pursued; and accordingly, as soon as he arrived off the coast of Newfoundland, taking advantage of the fogs which so frequently prevail there, especially during the spring months, he divided his force into two parts; one division pushed forward for the river St. Lawrence, by the usual channel, while the other entered the same river by the straits of Belleisle. Admiral Boscawen had no idea that the French fleet, or any part of it, would venture on such a passage, as no line of battle of ships

had ever gone that route before: he therefore lay with his squadron off Cape Wrath, the most southern point of Newfoundland, judging this the most likely place either to fall in with, or learn tidings of the enemy's squadron. On the 10th of June, two of the admiral's ships, the *Dunkirk* and *Defiance*, both of sixty guns, fell in with two of the enemy's ships, the *Alcide*, of sixty-four guns and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys*, pierced for as many guns, but, being armed *en flute*, mounting only twenty-two, and having on board eight companies of soldiers. The French ships were defended with great bravery, nor were they given up, till after a resistance of nearly five hours: the *Lys* proved a valuable prize, as she had on board, specie to the amount of eighty thousand pounds: there were also several officers of distinction in her. It is rather a singular circumstance, and therefore deserving of notice, that Mons. Hockquart, who commanded the *Alcide*, was now for the third time the prisoner of Admiral Boscawen, who first took him when captain of the *Medea*, in 1744, while the admiral had the command of the *Dreadnought*; and afterwards, when captain of the *Diamond*, when the admiral was in the *Namur*, in the year 1747. Having thus frustrated the intentions and plans of the enemy, Admiral Boscawen returned to England, with his prizes and one thousand five hundred prisoners.

In the year 1756, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and this promotion was very soon followed by the rank of vice-admiral of the red. On the 8th of February, 1758, he was again advanced, being appointed admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief of the fleet which was destined to co-operate in the siege of Louisbourg. This fleet first sailed for Halifax, whence, being joined by General Amherst and the army under his command, it proceeded to the place of its destination. On the 7th of June it anchored in a bay about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg, where the troops were

disembarked, and proceeded against this place. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of this enterprise: on the 26th of July, the French governor proposed to surrender: the terms were soon agreed upon, and the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, laid down their arms. During the operations of the siege, there was not much occasion or opportunity for the naval part of the expedition to act; but in every thing that was done, Admiral Boscawen displayed his usual promptitude, good sense, and anxiety to serve his country. As soon as Louisbourg had surrendered, he dispatched a part of his fleet, with troops on board, under the command of Lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John's; and having stationed another squadron for the protection of Nova Scotia, he himself returned to England with four sail of the line. Just as he was entering the Channel, a French squadron, consisting of six ships, was descried: he immediately endeavoured to bring them to action, but in vain; for, notwithstanding their superiority, they kept aloof; and as their vessels sailed better than the English, they were enabled to escape.

On the 6th of December, 1758, Mr. Onslow, the speaker of the House of Commons, delivered to Admiral Boscawen, the unanimous thanks of that house, in the following terms:—"Admiral Boscawen, the House have
"unanimously resolved, that their thanks should be given
"to you, for the services you have done to the king and
"country in North America; and as it is my duty to convey their thanks to you, I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be
"given you, now standing in your place, as a member of
"this house: but, were I able to enumerate and set
"forth, in the best manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of
"Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Briton and St.
"John's, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has

“ already been, and is the genuine and uniform sense and
“ language of every part of the kingdom: their joy, too,
“ has been equal to their sentiments upon this interesting
“ event; and in their sentiments and joy, they have car-
“ ried their gratitude also to you, sir, as a principal
“ instrument in these most important acquisitions: you
“ are now, therefore, receiving the acknowledgments of
“ the people, only in a more solemn way, by the voice,
“ the general voice, of their representatives in parlia-
“ ment,—the most honourable fame that any man can ar-
“ rive at, in this or any other country. It is on these
“ occasions, a national honour from a free people, ever
“ cautiously conferred, in order to be the more esteemed,
“ and be the greater reward:—a reward which ought to
“ be reserved for the most signal services to the state, as
“ well as for the most approved merit in it; such as this
“ house has usually, and very lately, made their object of
“ public thanks. The use, I am persuaded, you will
“ make of this public testimony and high reward of your
“ services and merit, will be the preserving in your own
“ mind, a lasting impression of what the commons of
“ Great Britain are now tendering to you, and in a con-
“ stant continuation of the zeal and ardour for the glory
“ of your king and country, which have made you to de-
“ serve it. In obedience to the commands of the house,
“ I do, with great pleasure to myself, give you the thanks
“ of the house, for the services you have done to your
“ king and country in North America.”

To this letter, Admiral Boscawen made the following reply:

“ Mr. Speaker—I am happy in having been able to do
“ my duty, but have not words to express my sense of
“ the distinguishing reward that has been conferred upon
“ me in this house; nor can I enough thank you, sir,
“ for the polite and elegant manner in which you have
“ been pleased to convey to me the resolution.”

We must confess, notwithstanding we are fully sensible of the professional merits and services of Admiral Boscawen, we cannot perceive, that on account of the capture of Louisbourg, he was entitled to the thanks of the House of Commons: we do not mean to undervalue the importance of the conquest, nor to assert, that in effecting it there was not room for the display and exercise of those qualities, which when attended, as in this instance, with success, deserve the distinguished honour of the thanks of the House of Commons: but granting it was a conquest of the highest importance, and that it was effected in a manner eminently creditable to those employed, yet, from all the accounts, it appears that the navy had little or nothing to do in it, but that by the army all, or nearly all was accomplished; if, therefore, the navy deserved the thanks of the House of Commons on this occasion, how much more did the army deserve? But the nation and parliament have no higher honour of that nature to bestow, and therefore it ought not to be hastily or improperly bestowed. It may, indeed, be urged, that Admiral Boscawen performed all that was required of him, all that he could do towards the reduction of Louisbourg; but assuredly, if this *all* is but trifling, if it call for or admit of only common talents, enterprise, and bravery, if it conduces only indirectly, and that too in a very trifling degree to the conquest, there appears to us to be no claim to the high honour of the thanks of the House of Commons, which ought not to be lowered in public estimation, by being given on trivial occasions.

On the 2d of February, in the year 1759, he was sworn in a member of his majesty's most honourable privy council; and immediately afterwards he was appointed to the command of a squadron, which it was meant to send into the Mediterranean. This squadron consisted of fourteen sail of the line and two frigates. On the 14th of April it sailed from St. Helen's: as soon as it arrived in

the Mediterranean, Admiral Boscawen proceeded to carry into execution the instructions which he had received: for this purpose, he closely watched the harbour of Toulon, in which the French had a powerful fleet, quite ready for sea; but the enemy were not disposed to come out, and the admiral, like the immortal Nelson, more pleased and anxious to fight and capture, than merely to blockade, used every method in his power to tempt or provoke them to an engagement. Mons. de la Clue, however, who had the command of the hostile squadron, was too well acquainted with his opponent lightly to hazard a battle; he consequently disregarded all the provocations which his country, through him, received, and was not to be allured out of his safety at Toulon, though his force consisted of twelve sail of the line and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen therefore was obliged to have recourse to other expedients, since it was a matter of the utmost moment to destroy, or greatly weaken, if possible, a fleet which, if it could come out and get to Brest safely, would there be united with a much more formidable force. While, indeed, the admiral lay before Toulon, the enemy could not put to sea; but the British fleet might be compelled to quit their station, either through stress of weather, or in order to recruit their stock of provisions; and there was not the least doubt that the French admiral would take the advantage of the first opportunity, and put to sea. Under these circumstances, Admiral Boscawen came to the resolution of sending the Culloden, Conqueror, and Jersey, close into the mouth of the harbour of Toulon, for the purpose of attempting the destruction of two ships which were lying there. This attempt, however, was unsuccessful; for the assailants not having made themselves sufficiently acquainted with the means of defence which the enemy possessed, were unexpectedly fired upon by several very heavy masked batteries; the fire of these was so incessant and well directed, that after having con-

tinued the attack for upwards of three hours, the ships were obliged to retire. Having failed in this attempt, they turned their fire against two forts which protected the entrance into the harbour; but here too they were unsuccessful, as the enemy possessed a great and commanding superiority of force.

From the accounts which are given of this enterprise, it does not appear to have been dictated by the usual penetration and sound judgment of Admiral Boscawen: his intention and hope evidently was, by attacking these two vessels, to provoke the French commander to come out to their defence and assistance; but it may be doubted, as the latter was evidently so unwilling to risk an engagement, whether even the imminent hazard of these vessels would have drawn him out of Toulon. At any rate, before the enterprise was undertaken, the most accurate and complete information ought to have been obtained respecting the batteries and forts which protected these vessels. In the end, however, this very failure effected the object which the British admiral had in view, and proved the destruction of the enemy's fleet; for in the attack, the *Culloden* and her companions had suffered so much, that Admiral Boscawen found it necessary to repair to Gibraltar to refit his ships: it was also necessary to go into some port, for the purpose of obtaining a fresh supply of water, &c. As Admiral Boscawen had no doubt that the enemy would take advantage of his absence, and put to sea, he stationed some frigates in such a manner, as might give him early information of this event. It happened as he anticipated and expected: at first, it appears that the French admiral was rather suspicious; he probably thought that the British squadron, though out of sight of Toulon, were at no great distance; but at length, having satisfactorily ascertained that they were gone to Gibraltar, he ventured to put to sea, a short time before Admiral Boscawen had completed the objects

for which he had returned to port. The admiral had stationed, as we before remarked, his frigates in such a manner, as to give him early information of the enemy's movements: one was cruising off Malaga, and another near Ceuta. On the 27th of the month, the latter made the signal of the appearance of the enemy, fourteen sail, on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta. The British fleet immediately got under weigh with the same number of ships of the line, a frigate and a fire-ship. Soon afterwards, seven sail of strange vessels were seen, to whom chase was given: at noon, on the 28th, the British came up with them, and about half-past two, the headmost ships began to engage. Admiral Boscawen, early in this day's fight, was obliged to shift his flag from the *Namur*, in consequence of that vessel having lost her mizenmast, to the *Newark*. By this accident, and the coming on of night, only one vessel was captured at this time, the *Centaure*, of seventy-four guns. On the morning of the 29th, only four ships were visible; they were standing in for the land, with very little wind. In the course of a few hours, the *Ocean*, one of them, ran in among the breakers, and three of the others came to an anchor: the former was taken immediately, but *M. de la Clue*, who had had his flag on board of her, had been previously landed. As it was found impossible to bring this vessel off, she was set on fire. The *Temeraire*, a seventy-four gun ship, was brought off with little damage, as well as the *Modeste*, a sixty-four gun ship; but it was found necessary to destroy the other, the *Redoubtable*.

On this action the following remarks were made by the translator of the *Treatise on Naval Evolutions and Tactics*, written originally in French by Monsieur de Mauripuis.

“ We might have been able to have illustrated
“ what we have advanced, by an opportunity that offered

“ to our fleet of putting it into practice last war, as we
“ were double the number of ships to the French, which,
“ by some ill-judged separation the night before, was
“ reduced to only seven sail the next day, when we
“ engaged them, after a long chase, off Lagos, in the
“ month of August, 1759. Had we divided our ships
“ (about fourteen in number) into three small divisions,
“ the better to surround the enemy, we should, in all
“ probability, have prevented any of them from escaping;
“ or running ashore at last, as they did, on the coast of
“ Portugal; or rather, had our headmost ships resolutely
“ continued on their course, and not stopped from exe-
“ cuting what was impatiently expected from them by the
“ admiral, that of bringing to the headmost of the enemy,
“ while the rest of the fleet was coming up with all
“ the sail they could crowd, we should have equally
“ succeeded.”

As Admiral Boscawen, by this victory, had completely fulfilled the instructions which he had received, and the object for which he had been sent out, there was no farther occasion for his stay in the Mediterranean: accordingly, he arrived at Spithead on the 1st of September with part of his squadron (the rest he left on the Mediterranean station) and with his two prizes.

Soon after his arrival, a complaint was made against him by the Dutch: they alleged that he had stopped and searched some Dutch merchantmen, while they were under the escort and protection of a man-of-war. In reply to this charge, the admiral acknowledged that they were under the protection of a man-of-war; but he justified his proceedings on this ground: he had received certain advice that the Dutch and Swedes carried cannon, powder, and other warlike stores to the enemy; and on this advice he thought it his duty to give particular and strict orders to the captains of all the ships under his

command, carefully to examine all the vessels of those nations that might be bound to the ports of France. With respect to the particular case urged against him, he had made the signal for four of his squadron to intercept some vessels which were then in sight : on their approach, they were known to be Dutch ships, under convoy of the Prince William, bound for different ports in the Mediterranean, and two of them particularly for Toulon : as, therefore, there was great reason to suspect that warlike stores would be found among their cargoes, they were detained for an hour, and strictly searched, but nothing contraband having been discovered on board of them, they were permitted to depart. In this proceeding, Admiral Boscawen conceived himself to be perfectly justified; and he farther contended that there was no ground of complaint, on the pretext of violent or uncivil behaviour, since the captains whom he had employed on this business had assured him, that every thing was conducted in the best order, and with the utmost decorum. Of the right of searching merchant vessels, there can be no doubt; but, we believe, doubts have been entertained, how far we ought to exercise this right, when merchant vessels are under the protection of a ship-of-war; the very circumstance of their being under her protection, is regarded by many civilians as a sufficient proof that their cargoes consist of nothing contraband. Admiral Boscawen, however, thought otherwise; and probably, without suspecting that the governments themselves, or even the captains of the ships of war, are acquainted with the circumstance, it may happen in many instances, that contraband goods are put on board merchant vessels, when they sail under convoy, from the idea that then they will be less likely to be searched.

On the 9th of December he was appointed general of marines, with a salary of three thousand pounds per

annum ; and in the month of January, the following year, he was ordered with a small squadron to cruise off Quiberon bay, for the purpose of watching the motions of those ships of the enemy which had escaped from the victorious fleet of Lord Hawke. On this station he did not, however, continue long, for in consequence of very boisterous weather in the month of September, he was under the necessity of putting back to Spithead. As soon as the weather grew moderate and favourable, he again put to sea ; but he was doomed to be still unfortunate, for the wind was so adverse and violent, that several of his ships were considerably damaged, and the whole fleet was compelled to return to Plymouth. In the course of the summer he was employed, alternately with Lord Hawke, in watching the motions of the enemy, and in harassing their commerce. As this service, though he executed it with his natural zeal and judgment, by no means fully occupied his time or his thoughts, he turned his attention to an object, which pleasingly points out the minute and humane care which he took of the health and comfort of the seamen under his command. In order, as much as possible, to prevent or alleviate the scorbutic disorders to which, from continuing long at sea, they were exposed, he took possession of a small island near the river Vannes, which he planted with such kind of vegetables as he judged would be most conducive to the health of the seamen. In this island he seems to have taken great delight ; and it is pleasing and instructive to behold a man, whose whole life had been spent in the midst of the bustle and tumult of a seafaring life, thus giving himself up to such pure and simple pleasures.

His services being no longer necessary on this station, and his health being rather precarious, he retired to a seat which he had just finished at Hatchlands, in the county of Surrey : here he was attacked by a bilious fever, which carried him off on the 10th of January, 1761. His body

was carried into Cornwall, where it was buried in the parish church of St. Michael, in Penkevel; a monument designed by Adam, and executed by Raysbrak, with the following inscription, was erected to his memory:—in it the leading features of his character are depicted with, perhaps less exaggeration, or partiality, than is usually found on such inscriptions.

Here lies the Right Honourable
 EDWARD BOSCAWEN,
 Admiral of the blue, general of marines,
 Lord of the Admiralty, and one of his
 Majesty's most honourable privy council.
 His birth, though noble,
 His titles, though illustrious,
 Were but incidental additions to his greatness.
 History
 In more expressible and more indelible
 Characters,
 Will inform latest posterity
 With what ardent zeal,
 With what successful valour
 He served his country,
 And fought her enemies
 To dread her naval power.
 In command,
 He was equal to every emergency,
 Superior to every difficulty.
 In his high departments, masterly and upright.
 His example formed, while
 His patronage rewarded
 Merit,
 With the highest exertions of military greatness,
 He united the gentlest offices of humanity.
 His concern for the interest, and unwearied
 Attention to the health of all under

His command,
Softened the necessary exactions of duty,
And the rigours of discipline,
By the care of a guardian, and the tenderness
Of a father.

Thus beloved and revered,
Amiable in private life, as illustrious in public.
This gallant and profitable servant of his
Country,

When he was beginning to reap the harvest
Of his toils and dangers,
In the full meridian of years and glory,
After haven been providentially preserved
Through every peril incident to his profession,
Died of a fever,

On the 10th of January, in the year 1761,
The 50th of his age,

At Hatchland's Park, in Surrey,
A seat he had just finished, (at the expense
Of the enemies of his country)
And amidst the groans and tears
Of his beloved countrymen, was
Here deposited.

His once happy wife inscribes this marble,
In unequal testimony of his works,
And of her affection.

MEMOIRS OF LORD HAWKE.

THE biography of many of the greatest men is often not interesting in the recital. They generally preserve such a consistency of character throughout their whole lives, and such a similarity of fortune attends them in every circumstance, that our curiosity is soon satisfied, and we become so confident of their success, that we cease to feel any anxiety on the subject. This is more particularly the case with the memoirs of high professional characters. At the outset of life they commonly indicate the possession of those superior endowments by which they are destined to attain distinction, and we are early assured that they must attain the highest eminence, by only following the customary routine.

There are in all the different walks of business, sagacious men of ordinary qualifications, who avail themselves of the assistance of the abler young; and it is to this class that the candidates for celebrity and fortune chiefly owe their promotion. The moment, therefore, that a young man, of acknowledged talents and prudence, has obtained the patronage of one of those persons to whom we have alluded, his prosperity appears inevitable, and we see that his life cannot but be crowned with splendour and success.

It is true, that there is an occasional race of men, created to adorn the dignity of the species, who never enjoy the fostering influence of personal patronage. Sent into the world alone, and ignorant of the paths which lead directly to the temple of honour, they stray and wander about, often for a while losing themselves in difficulties, but still keeping in view the gilded ball and lofty cupulo, somehow, in the end they find themselves on the right road, and are at last borne into the portico and placed among the illustrious great, amidst the applauses

of the world, and the contrite homage of those who affected to despise them.

But the conduct of such men cannot be proposed as exemplary. They are so acted upon by circumstances, and submit so readily to the dictation of their feelings, that they are obliged to draw largely on that indulgence which the world is ever ready to grant to individual greatness, when it is accompanied with a sufficient degree of folly. The invidious spirit of the human breast is soothed and pacified by the errors of genius, and we become willing to reverence even the highest personal or intellectual endowments, if they are only qualified with a proportionate quantity of human frailty. The candidate for fame soon discovers that half the means of success consists in concealing his qualifications, and that the surest way of reaching the grand object of his solitary meditations and public actions, is by going along with the stream of the crowd, and never attempting to pass on before his neighbours, in any other way than by quietly stepping forward into the spaces which those who feel themselves exhausted, or fail in the pursuit, leave, from time to time, vacant. In the end, he will appear to be so far advanced beyond all his cotemporaries, that those who were constrained, by inferior strength, to stop short in the same career, will wonder how he had the ability to go on. But it is seldom that men of talent can practice this cunning. There is a natural frankness about genius, which so often betrays it into such manifestations of conscious superiority, that almost at the very threshold of life, it makes enemies of the sinister and the wary, of those who trust more to the use of artifice and dexterity of management, than to the force and nobleness of natural vigour.

In the following memoir, the young officer will find an admirable subject for his consideration. Lord Hawke was indisputably, one of the greatest officers that the British navy has ever produced. He had about him, all the solid

qualities of a truly great man, imbued at the same time with that peculiar energy and activity of character which might have led him to seek bye ways to the temple of fame, had he not been so fortunate, early in his career, to obtain no less a patron than the king himself. He began the world, to use a homely expression, with no other means of success than his own conduct; and he had the constitutional sagacity of early concealing his consciousness of possessing those qualities which, matured by time and improved by experience, were to render him deserving of the highest trusts. Accordingly, before he attained the rank of captain, his conduct had been so uniformly and so carefully regulated by the usual practice of the service, that his family are unacquainted with any of the circumstances of his personal behaviour, from the period of his entering as a midshipman until he received the command of a ship. But that latent discernment of better means of accomplishing ends in his profession, which he afterwards so fully evinced, and which, during the probation of subaltern discipline, he had constitutionally so guardedly kept to himself, soon led him to make an attempt to obtain distinction, which might have been fatal to his future promotion, had it not happened that George the Second was one of those men, who, without possessing great talents themselves, have the sense to see them in others, and virtue enough to exert their influence to promote their possessors to a proper place in the concerns of the world. The British nation is indebted to that monarch for the triumphs of Lord Hawke; but the young sailor should recollect that the chance of acquiring similar patronage is very rare, and that even Hawke might not have obtained the powerful friendship of the king, had his conduct, previous to his glorious violation of the rules of the service, not been such as to have procured him the command of the *Berwick*, a command procured by the accuracy and excellence with which he had performed his duty as a subaltern.

Edward Hawke was the son of a barrister of the same name. He early evinced a bold and decisive spirit, and his inclinations leading him to wish to be a sailor, his father had the good sense to indulge a predeliction which was obviously sanctioned by nature and prompted by fate, as the splendour of his subsequent life sufficiently demonstrated. When his father parted from him as he went to join his ship, he exhorted him to behave well, and he might hope, in time, to become a captain. "A captain!" replied the little midshipman, "if I did not think I should rise to be an admiral, I would not go."

Little is now known of his personal conduct as a subaltern; but that it was meritorious, cannot be doubted; for few men have ever attained so great an eminence who were less at first indebted to any other influence than their own merits. At the same time, it is not to be denied, that fortuitous circumstances early contributed to bring him with distinction before the public, and that in consequence, he encountered less cotemporary invidiousness than most men who acquire celebrity by their own exertions. He was not only one of the most successful commanders, and distinguished by the vigour and greatness of his general talents, but he actually possessed in the details of his profession, a superiority of intelligence which made him, in the most emphatic sense of the word, one of the best sailors ever reared in the navy of England.

In March, 1734, he was appointed captain of the *Flamborough*; and in the same year, we find he commanded the *Wolf*; but in this ship he had no opportunity of acquiring any particular distinction, nor, indeed, for many years after. This is often the fate of men of great professional qualifications. Their merits are unknown, for the want of opportunities calculated to call them forth. But sooner or later, the time at length arrives, and the clouds which concealed their character in its rising, serve only to render their glory more conspicuous, when they

open and show it in meridian brightness. Ten years passed from the appointment of Hawke to the Wolf, before his name became known to the public; and but for one of those noble faults which true genius sometimes ventures to commit in the pursuit of fame, he might still longer have continued an obscure officer.

In June, 1743, he was appointed to the command of the *Berwick*, seventy-four; and in the indecisive engagement which took place, off Toulon, on the 11th of February following, he had the gratification of taking the only ship that was captured on that occasion. Several officers from different ships of the British squadron, boarded the prize after she struck, and claimed her for their respective vessels; but the captain pointed to the *Berwick*, and delivering his sword to her lieutenant, said, that he submitted to that vessel only, and regarded the others with contempt.

The incidents of the battle have been related in the naval transactions of that period. But the conduct of any inferior officer cannot reflect honour on that of the commanders. Although the event of the engagement was condemned by the public, the behaviour of Hawke had been such as to excite and obtain for him, universal applause; and the king, from that time, adopted him as his own officer, and used to distinguish his name, when he afterwards shewed how well he deserved the royal patronage, by speaking of him as his own admiral.

It was the principle of the naval tactics then in use, to fight in line, and to manage the whole squadron simultaneously in action; the effect of which prevented the heroism, if the expression may be used, of individual vessels from being of any particular avail, and made the officers and men, who had prepared themselves for doing their duty effectively, participate in the consequences of the errors and blunders of those who had been less attentive to the interests of the service. It was not till

many years after, that the true art of fighting squadrons, by placing ship by ship alongside of the enemy, was substantially discovered; yet, in the engagement off Toulon, the genius of Captain Hawke enabled him to perceive the defects of the old system, and led him to make an experiment, on the principles that have since been so triumphantly adopted, the success of which essentially contributed to his subsequent glory. It, however, must not be disguised, that although his experiment was founded on a just conception, that ship to ship the British would prove superior to their enemies, he had no particular scientific reason for believing that the old system of fighting in line was erroneous; nor, that although he afterwards, in all his subsequent victories, acted upon the same principle which he was induced to adopt on this occasion, in contempt of the rules of the service, does he appear to have thought that he had fallen into the path by which the British navy was afterwards to attain the highest summit of supremacy and renown. He saw the defect of military principles, as applied to naval operations, and it was merely an expedient to make the most of circumstances which induced him to deviate from the common practice. But it is this discernment which metaphysicians call superiority of genius. Wisdom and prudence act well on the principles that are known; but the prophetic eye of genius discovers what shall be the effects of new combinations, and its resources furnish that addition to ordinary circumstances which elevates them into the character of epochal events. The systematic application of the results belongs to another description of talent; and it is rarely that the mind which intuitively develops a new principle, is enabled to estimate its universal importance, or to demonstrate the extent and variety of the modes in which it may be rendered practically useful. In the engagement off Toulon, in which the event took place that has given rise to these reflections, a Spanish ship had obliged two British men-of-war to retire from

the line; Captain Hawke seeing this disgraceful consequence of fighting by squadrons, bore down upon the enemy, and, when within pistol-shot, poured a whole broadside into her, by which twenty-seven of her men were killed outright, and seven of her lower deck guns dismounted. Continuing the attack with irresistible fury, he threw all her masts overboard, and she soon after struck her colours. After taking possession of her, the whole French fleet tacked towards him, and he was obliged to retire, and allow her to be recaptured.

As an officer is at all times bound to consider his life as due to his country, he never ought to hesitate risking the loss of it by punishment, if, by violating the orders of his commander, he can avert a greater evil than the good which his obedience would ensure. Should he fail in his attempt, the proud consolation of the motive by which he was actuated, will support him in his trial, and enable him to endure the penalty with magnanimity; and if he prove successful, the value of his service will secure him an honourable indemnity for the punishment which the rules of discipline should still oblige him to suffer. In recommending this maxim, this principle of action to those who are ambitious of an honourable fame, it is far from being intended that any law of the service should be undervalued, or any usage of discipline regarded as a restraint on the display of ability; on the contrary, the general object of public trusts is always best promoted by a strict adherence to established practice: but there are occasions when, as the file affords no precedent in state affairs, the compass varies while the heavens overcast, deny the observations necessary to regulate the course of the vessel, that the officer must act on the resources and suggestions of his own mind; and it is only on such occasions that the maxim which leads at once to honour and punishment, may be adopted as a rule of action. The man, however, who is capable of feeling all its import-

ance, should be possessed of fortitude enough to sustain the punishment which his disobedience and violation of the articles of war may entail; for he ought never to be entrusted again with an opportunity of repeating his glorious fault. It was not so, however, with Hawke: he was, it is true, tried for leaving the line, and lost his commission; but his personal gallantry, and the service which he had rendered, induced the king to restore him immediately to his rank, and to declare that he would consider him as his own captain; a declaration to which he faithfully adhered throughout the remainder of his life.

On the 15th of July, 1747, Captain Hawke was made a rear-admiral of the white, and soon after appointed to the command of a squadron ordered upon a cruise, with a view to intercept a large fleet of French merchantmen, bound under a strong convoy to the West Indies. On the 9th of August he sailed in the *Devonshire* from Plymouth, with thirteen other men-of-war; four of them, besides his own ship, were of the fourth class, and nine of the fifth; and on the 14th of October he obtained a sight of the enemy. The details of the subsequent proceedings are interesting, as affording a view of the naval tactics of that time, and of the inconveniencies which attended the method of fighting squadrons of ships, like regiments of infantry.

About eight o'clock in the morning, the French fleet was seen; at ten, Admiral Hawke made the signal to form the line of battle ahead. At this moment, one of the British ships intimated that she counted eleven sail of the enemy's men-of-war; half an hour after, another ship informed the admiral that twelve were in sight. At this time the merchantmen of the enemy, crowding all sail, appeared dispersing before the wind, while the men-of-war, endeavouring to arrange themselves as a battalion in their rear, hauled near the wind under their topsails

and foresails. Hawke, finding that he lost time in forming the line, made a signal for his whole squadron to chace, and in half an hour the headmost of his ships were ordered to engage, which they did immediately. The *Lion* and *Princess Louisa* began the action, and were followed by the rest of the squadron as they came up; till the battle was general from rear to van. The enemy had the weather gauge, and the smoke prevented the British admiral from observing the engagement; and intercepted the view of his signals: he, however, passed on till he met with a ship, and soon forcing her to strike, left her to be taken possession of by the frigates astern. Perceiving the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh* engaged, he kept his wind as close as possible, in order to assist them; but the *Eagle* having her wheel shot away, and all her traces and bowlings cut, became unmanageable, and falling twice on board the *Devonshire*, frustrated the admiral's intention, and drove him to leeward, where he became engaged with two of the enemy, much superior in force. In this situation, the breechings of all the *Devonshire's* guns broke loose, and they flew fore and aft in such a manner, that she was obliged to sail ahead, in order to remedy the disaster. But the situation of the admiral was now worse than before; for one of the enemy directed her fire against the rigging of the *Devonshire*, and must soon have dismasted her, had not the *Tilbury* observed her danger, and standing in between them, obliged the French ship to defend herself. By the time that the breechings of the guns were repaired, the *Devonshire* had returned into the battle, and speedily compelled another of the enemy to submit; making then the signal for all the ships to engage as near as possible, the admiral placed his own alongside one of the largest of the enemy.

The action had now lasted all the afternoon, and about seven, the third antagonist of the *Devonshire* called out for quarter. Six French ships were taken, and three of

them were prizes to the admiral alone! the most decisive proof that could be given of what must have been the skill and gallantry with which he fought. At the same time, the detail of the action shews clearly, that if the advantage by fighting ships in line was not greater than what was obtained by leaving each ship, like a hero of the Iliad, to range at large, and fight or retire, as the foe was a match or a superior, some expedient, which should combine the mutual security which was derived from the formation of the line, along with the activity of individual ships, was still evidently wanting in naval tactics. For notwithstanding the great success of the Devonshire in this battle, the risk that she ran of being captured shews, that all the ability with which she was managed might not have been sufficient to save her; and that although, in the end, the victory was decisive, the French had very nearly acquired the triumph of taking one of the ablest sailors and greatest men, whose names adorn the naval annals of England.

In order to verify the justness of these observations, we have thought that it might also be useful to insert here the authentic details of the battle. On the 27th of October, 1747, the following London Gazette Extraordinary was published:

“ The lords commissioners of the Admiralty having
“ received information that a very large fleet of merchant
“ ships, bound from the ports of France to the West
“ Indies, were collected at the isle d’Aix, and that a
“ strong squadron of ships of war had sailed from Brest
“ to escort them, they sent to sea Rear-admiral Hawke,
“ with a squadron of his majesty’s ships, to endeavour
“ to intercept them. The French fleet put to
“ sea from the isle d’Aix on the 7th instant, O. S. and
“ came to an anchor that day in Rochelle road, and the
“ next day they sailed from thence on their voyage. On

“ the 14th, Rear-admiral Hawke fell in with them, and
“ writes the following account.”

Before giving his letter, we cannot refrain from remarking, how very cunningly the Admiralty of that period, by this unusual introductory paragraph, endeavoured to share the glory of the victory with the fleet. In this case it was perhaps not objectionable; but the practice has been discontinued, either from the increased modesty of their successors, or from it never having happened that they had any share in contributing to the more recent and greater exploits of the navy. Admiral Hawke wrote as follows :

“ October 14, at seven in the morning, being in latitude 47° 49' N. and longitude from Cape Finisterre 1° 2' W. the Edinburgh made the signal for seven sail in the S. E. quarter. I immediately made the signal for all the fleet to chace. About eight we saw a great number of ships, but so crowded, that we could not count them. At ten, made the signal for the line of battle ahead. The Louisa being the headmost and weathermost ship, made the signal for discovering eleven sail of the enemy's line of battle ships. Half an hour after, Captain Fox, in the Kent, hailed us, and said that they counted twelve very large ships. Soon after, I perceived the enemy's convoy to crowd away with all the sail they could set, while their ships-of-war were endeavouring to form in a line astern of them, and hauled near the wind under their topsails and fore-sails, and some with topgallant sails set. Finding we lost time in forming our line, while the enemy was standing away from us, at eleven made the signal for the whole squadron to chace. Half an hour after, observing our headmost ships to be within a proper distance, I made the signal to engage, which was immediately obeyed. The Lion and Princess Louisa

“ began the engagement, and were followed by the rest
“ of the squadron as they could come up, and went from
“ rear to van. The enemy having the weather-gauge of
“ us, and a smart and constant fire being kept on both
“ sides, the smoke prevented my seeing the number of
“ the enemy, or what happened on either side for some
“ time. In passing on to the first ship we could get
“ near, we received many fires at a distance, till we
“ came close to the *Severne*, of fifty guns, whom we soon
“ silenced, and left to be taken up by the frigates astern.
“ Then perceiving the *Eagle* and *Edinburgh*, who had
“ lost her foretop mast, engaged, we kept our wind as
“ close as possible, in order to assist them. This attempt
“ of ours was frustrated by the *Eagle* falling twice on
“ board us, having had her wheel shot to pieces, and all
“ her men at it killed, and all her traces and bowlings
“ gone. This drove us to leeward, and prevented our
“ attacking *Le Monarque*, of seventy-four, and the *Ton-*
“ *nant*, of eighty guns, within any distance to do execu-
“ tion. However, we attempted both, especially the
“ latter: while we were engaged with her, the breechings
“ of all our lower deck guns broke, and the guns flew
“ fore and aft, which obliged us to shoot ahead, for our
“ upper and quarter deck guns could not reach her.
“ Captain Harland, in the *Tilbury*, observing that she
“ fired single guns at us, in order to dismast us, stood on
“ the other tack between her and the *Devonshire*, and
“ gave her a very smart fire. By the time the new
“ breechings were all seized, I was got almost alongside
“ the *Trident*, of sixty-four guns, whom I engaged as
“ soon as possible, and silenced by as brisk a fire as I
“ could make. Just before I attacked her, observing the
“ *Kent*, which seemed to have little or no damage, at
“ some distance astern of the *Tonnant*, I flung out Cap-
“ tain Fox’s pendant, to make sail ahead to engage her, as
“ I saw it was in his power to get close up with her, she

“ being somewhat disabled, having lost her maintop mast.
“ Seeing some of our ships at that time not so closely
“ engaged as I could have wished, and not being able
“ well to distinguish who they were, I flung out the
“ signal for a closer engagement. Soon after, I got
“ alongside, within musket shot, of the *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men. Near seven
“ at night, she called out for quarters.

“ Thus far I have been particular with regard to the
“ share the *Devonshire* bore in the action of the day.
“ As to the other ships, as far as fell within my notice,
“ their commanders, officers, and companies, behaved
“ with the greatest spirit and resolution, in every respect
“ like Englishmen; only I am sorry to acquaint their
“ lordships, that I must except Captain *Fox*, whose conduct on that day I beg they would give directions for
“ inquiring into at a court martial.

“ Having observed that six of the enemy's ships had
“ struck, and it being very dark, and our ships dispersed,
“ I thought it best to bring to for that night, and seeing
“ a great firing a long way astern of me, I was in hopes
“ to have seen more of the enemy's ships taken in the
“ morning; but instead of that, I received the melancholy
“ account of Captain *Saumarez* being killed, and that the
“ *Tonnant* had escaped in the night by the assistance of
“ the *Intrepid*, who, by having the wind of our ships, had
“ received no damage that I could perceive. Immediately I called a council of war.

“ As to the French convoy's escaping, it was not possible for me to detach any ships after them at first, or
“ during the action, except the frigates, and that I
“ thought would have been imprudent, as I observed
“ several large ships-of-war among them; and to confirm
“ me in this opinion, I have since learnt that they had
“ the *Content*, of sixty-four guns, and many frigates,
“ from thirty-six downwards: however, I took a step

“ which seemed to me the most probable to intercept
 “ them; for as I could man and victual the Weazel
 “ sloop, I detached her with an express to Commodore
 “ Legge.

“ As the enemy’s ships were large, except the Severne,
 “ they took a great deal of drubbing,* and lost all their
 “ masts, except two, who had their foremasts left; this
 “ has obliged me to lie by these two days past, in order
 “ to put them in a condition to be brought into port, as
 “ well as our own, who have suffered greatly.

“ I have sent this express by Captain Moore, of the
 “ Devonshire, in the Hector; and it would be doing
 “ great injustice to merit not to say, that he signalised
 “ himself greatly in the action. We have taken

SHIPS.	MEN.	GUNS.
“ Le Terrible	686	74
“ Le Monarque	686	74
“ Le Neptune	686	74
“ Le Trident	650	64
“ Le Tangenx	650	64
“ Le Severne	550	50

“ They were under the command of M. de l’Elendiere.”

On the 21st of October, Hawke arrived at Portsmouth with his prizes, and, as a reward for his valour, was the next month created one of the knights companions of the order of the Bath; and in December following he was elected member of parliament for the town of Portsmouth.

On the 16th of January, 1748, he again sailed from Plymouth, with a squadron of nine sail of the line, to

* This phrase attracted much notice at the time, and from being a cant term in the navy, was, on this occasion, promoted into the language of the country. The king had never heard of it before, and being much puzzled about the meaning, was roguishly referred, by one of his ministers, for an explanation, to the Duke of Bedford, who had not long before experienced a handsome drubbing, under the name of a severe chastisement, at Litchfield races.

cruise in the bay of Biscay; but peace being soon after concluded, he returned to Spithead on the 24th of July, having, in the mean time, been promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, and also elected an elder brother of the Trinity-house.

On the 26th of June, 1749, Sir Edward Hawke was appointed president of the court martial that was held on the officers and mutineers concerned in running away with the *Chesterfield* from Cape-coast road, in Africa. Men who embark in projects of this nature, are often more remarkable for a bold animal sagacity, than for that consistent strength and intrepidity of mind, which is peculiarly ascribed to man, and distinguished from courage by the name of valour. There is no example of a mutineer ever having been regarded, even by his followers, as a steady man, or ever possessing such a character, as in the regular transactions of life would obtain a trust, perhaps, from the weakest of those whom he has the address to seduce from their duty. A constitutional desperation has been uniformly found connected with the rebellious spirit, with that spirit which would employ coercive means for the redress of wrong, rather than resort to the slow but more sure course of law and reason. But in the case of the mutineers, at whose trial Sir Edward Hawke presided, there appears to have been something so singular, that the transaction has more in it of the character of madness, than almost any of the wildest schemes of the most daring conspirators; so much so, that it might justify us in asserting, that the mind is liable to contagious diseases, as well as the body, and that in this instance, the unfortunate officers and men of the *Chesterfield* were actuated by a malady of this nature. When the first lieutenant was asked by the boatswain, who had remained unaffected, what he intended to do with the ship, he was answered, "To take, burn, and sink and settle a colony " in the East Indies." Is it possible to believe that an

officer, raised through all the gradations of the naval service to the rank of first lieutenant of a frigate, could be in his senses, who for such a purpose stirred up the crew to mutiny, and actually made himself master of the ship? The poor man, however, was deservedly shot for his crime; nor should the plea of insanity be received in any case as an excuse for deeds of mischief and guilt, because few of the insane are ever so mad, during the time that they are allowed by their friends to go at liberty, as not to know when they do wrong. It has long been well ascertained, that the wildest patients in the lunatic hospitals soon become controllable by the dread of punishment. Mankind are liable to occultations of the judgment; and it is in those moments that they are led to the commission of offences. The difference between the criminal and the maniac consists only in the same disease being temporary with the one, which is permanent and chronical with the other. We affect to pity the dangerous lunatic, while we abhor the mischievous felon, when, perhaps, a more judicial estimate of the consequences of their effects to society would teach us to reverse our sentiments.

In the December following, Sir Edward Hawke sat on the court martial which adjudged Admiral Knowles to be reprimanded for carelessness in his duty, during the action which had taken place between his fleet and a Spanish squadron on the 1st of October in the preceding year. This incident is of no other importance, than as shewing the imperfect state in which the tactics of the navy were at that time. Admiral Knowles was allowed by the court to have formed the line properly, but at the same time it was admitted, that by a different disposition of his squadron he might have effectively done his duty. It did not occur to the officers composing the court, that in all probability the fault did not lie with Knowles, but in his

following the usual practice of marshalling his ships in the order of military war, and making the movements of the whole dependant on the conduct of parts. It is often thus that the errors of systems are visited on individuals, and that the defects which imperfect theoretical rules occasion in practice, are regarded as faults in those who strictly obey them. It is true, that there were other points of Admiral Knowles's conduct animadverted upon; but they related to his personal discretion, and did not affect the general principle which has led us to introduce the subject.

In the life of Lord Anson, we suggested the propriety of government considering, in the event of peace, the advantages of the neighbourhood of Port St. Julian, in South America, as a situation for founding a colony, on the principle of providing for the officers and men whose services the country then may no longer require. What we threw out was not a passing thought, but an opinion founded on what has been, since the discovery of America, a part of the politico-economical system of the British nation, but which, as such, has never received that attention which it so justly merits. It would be foreign to the object of these biographical sketches, to introduce the subject in any regular form here; but some of the officers into whose hands this work will undoubtedly fall, may, in devoting their attention and ambition to the means of planting a virtuous colony, find a great and illustrious path to renown.

After the peace of 1748, the government resolved to settle a colony in Nova Scotia, and Sir Edward Hawke was appointed to superintend the naval department in the important undertaking of planting the seeds of a nation, and arranging those rudimental institutions, which in time shall become sacred in the veneration of mankind, by the blessings which they will dispense. No other species of

human action is so truly glorious as this. War, though often essential to the preservation of the virtues and the arts of civilised life, becomes a confused and odious pile of smoking ruins and of ashes extinguished only by human blood, when compared with the cheerful associations connected with the rude primitive villages of the ancestors of nations, gradually rising and spreading into prosperous and populous cities. How much more greatly venerable is the man who first opens a highway through the savage forest, than he who carries havoc and devastation through the walls of an ancient town!—That the government, on this occasion, was actuated by the motives and principles which we have advanced and recommended, is undeniable; but, as since that period, recent as it still may be considered, so many extraordinary events have arisen, that the old and regular domestic policy of the state has become in a great degree obsolete, we shall introduce here the substance of the proclamation which appeared in the London Gazette of the 7th of March, 1749, both in order to verify the justness of what was suggested in the life of Lord Anson, and to illustrate the liberality of the principles on which the colony was established, that Sir Edward Hawke assisted in planting.

PROCLAMATION.

“ A proposal having been presented unto his majesty,
“ for establishing a civil government in the province of
“ Nova Scotia, in North America, as also for the better
“ peopling and settling the said province, and extending
“ and improving the fishery thereof, by granting lands
“ within the same, and giving other encouragements
“ to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed from his majesty’s land and sea service, as shall
“ be willing to settle in the said province : And his majesty having signified his royal approbation of the purport of the said proposals, the lords commissioners for

“ trade and plantations do, by his majesty’s command,
“ give notice, that proper encouragement will be given to
“ such officers and private men as are willing to accept
“ grants of land, and to settle with or without families in
“ Nova Scotia.”

“ That fifty acres of land will be granted in fee simple
“ to every private soldier or seaman, free from the
“ payment of any quit-rents or taxes for the term of ten
“ years; at the expiration whereof, no person to pay
“ more than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres
“ so granted.

“ That a grant of ten acres over and above the said
“ fifty acres will be made to each private soldier or sea-
“ man, having a family, for every person, including
“ women and children, of which his family shall consist;
“ and farther grants made to them on the like condi-
“ tions, as their families shall increase, or in proportion
“ to their abilities to cultivate the same.

“ That eighty acres, on like conditions, will be granted
“ to every officer under the rank of ensign in the
“ land service, and that of lieutenant in the sea ser-
“ vice; and to such as have families, fifteen acres over
“ and above the said eighty acres, for every person of
“ which their family shall consist.

“ That two hundred acres, on like conditions, shall be
“ granted to every ensign, three hundred to every lieu-
“ tenant, four hundred to every captain, and six hundred
“ to every officer above the rank of captain in the land
“ service; as also the like quantity of four hundred acres,
“ and on the like conditions, to every lieutenant in the
“ sea service, and six hundred acres to every captain;
“ and to such of the above-mentioned officers as have
“ families, a farther grant of thirty acres will be made,
“ over and above their respective quotas, for every person
“ of which their families shall consist.

“ That all such as are willing to accept of the above
“ proposals, shall, with their families, be subsisted during
“ their passage, as also for the space of twelve months
“ after their arrival.

“ That they shall be furnished with arms and ammuni-
“ tion, as far as will be judged necessary for their defence,
“ with a proper quantity of materials and utensils for
“ husbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erect-
“ ing habitations, carrying on the fishery, and such other
“ purposes as shall be necessary for their support.

“ That for the benefit of the settlement, the same con-
“ ditions which are proposed to private soldiers or sea-
“ men, shall likewise be granted to carpenters, ship-
“ wrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, brick-
“ layers, and all other artificers working in building
“ or husbandry, not being private soldiers or seamen.

“ That the same conditions as are proposed to those
“ who have served in the capacity of ensign, shall extend
“ to all surgeons, whether they have been in his majesty’s
“ service or not, upon their producing proper certificates
“ of their being duly qualified.”

Such are the principles upon which the colony of Nova Scotia was first planted; and although Sir Edward Hawke had only the command of the squadron, and of course but little share in the civil transactions, we shall state a few of the details relative to the first detachment which sailed, as they cannot fail to prove interesting.

Soon after the publication of the proposal, several hundred disbanded soldiers and discharged sailors, with artificers and labourers, applied at the colonial office, and received grants of land in the colony; but before the transports could be ready to carry them out, the number was augmented to upwards of three thousand seven hundred families. In the meantime, the project had made a great noise in Europe, and the French prospectively viewing the advantages which the settlement would in

time afford to the mother country, began to stir themselves against it; and pretended that part of the land selected for the colony belonged to their territories. This, however, was but one of those wily stratagems which that artful people have so often recourse to, when they find themselves, as they generally are, anticipated in any useful project, or undertaking beneficial to the popular interests and comforts of mankind. The lords commissioners of trade and colonies, however, soon set this false claim at rest; for having searched the archives of their office, they found that the whole extent of Nova Scotia had belonged to the British crown, from the year 1727, when all the Indian chiefs of that part of America, took an oath of fidelity to King George the First. The consequence was, that the French, who, for the future molestation of the British colonists, had begun to construct a fort on the river of St. John's, were obliged to desist; and what they had intended as annoyance to us, recoiled upon themselves, and established that what they had regarded as an assumed right, was, in fact, a cession more regular and legitimate than any other part of America to which the European states laid claim. Indeed, the colony was planted under favourable auspices, for the first detachment of adventurers, amounting to upwards of two thousand persons, only lost one child. By the end of the year, three hundred and fifty houses were built at Halifax, and it is but justice to add, that the French finding they could no longer, with any honest pretext, oppose the colony, had the courtesy to lend every assistance, in facilitating the undertaking, which their settlements in the neighbouring provinces afforded.

After Hawke had returned, and while commanding a squadron next year at Spithead, he received the honour of a visit on board the *Monarch*, from the Prince and Princess of Wales, with several of their children.

On the 9th of January, 1755, he was made a vice-admiral of the white; and on the 21st of July, in the same year, he sailed from Portsmouth, with eighteen men-of-war, upon a cruise in the bay of Biscay.

When the war of 1756 began, he was appointed to a squadron, and ordered to cruise in the bay of Biscay. Accordingly, he hoisted his flag on board the *St. George*, and on the 11th of March, sailed from *St. Helen's*, with the *Northumberland*, *Vanguard*, *Somerset*, *Chichester*, *Edinburgh*, *Medway*, *Hampshire*, *Newcastle*, and the *Swan* sloop, under his command. During this cruise, he met with no adventure; and a greater fleet, commanded by *Boscawen*, being prepared for the protection of the Channel, he returned to Portsmouth on the 8th of May.

He was soon after appointed to supersede *Admiral Byng* in the command of the Mediterranean, in order to retrieve the honour of the British flag, which had, in this early stage of the war, been tarnished by the errors, or the crimes of that unfortunate officer.

While he happened to be at Gibraltar, an occurrence took place, which obliges us to deviate from the narrative of personal transactions, and to consider the general politics of that period, as the particular event to which we allude, is the first of a series of actions to which it gave rise;—actions which the British character, with its characteristic activity, still openly assert as necessary, and, therefore, just; but which, the French, with their equal peculiar craftiness, have as constantly reprobated, although the incident alluded to originated with an aggression committed, if not by their immediate authority, undoubtedly sanctioned by their approbation.

Spain, which, from the accession of a prince of the house of Bourbon to the throne, had become more and more a dependancy of the French monarchy, still affected to have a will of her own, and it was convenient to the ambitious schemes of the politic cabinet of Versailles, to

permit the indulgence of this self delusion. Indeed, such, at the period which we are now contemplating, was the independence and jealousy of the other great states of Europe, that France, although conscious of possessing the instigating energy of the Spanish government, did not venture to exercise her power openly. The time was not yet come when the presumptuous expectations which she had cherished in the war of the succession were to be fully realized; and the Spaniards, with that conceit of their own importance, which in later times has contributed to ennoble, in some degree, a character compounded chiefly of pride and selfishness, were allowed by the French to vaunt of their grandeur, and to manifest their ridiculous arrogance, like those ideots whom soldiers permit to strut along with them and encourage in the folly of believing themselves heroes. Perhaps this very indulgence was part of the machiavelian system of the French court; and permitted, with a view to bring the Spaniards into contempt, in order that the importance of the annexation of their dominions to the French power, might not be too curiously examined by the other states.

During the war, which was now raging between France and England, the insolence of the Spanish nation was so excessive, that it may well be regarded as symptomatic of its actual weakness. The monarchy was still vast and intire; but it was a giant smitten with palsy, who, in the dreams of dozing paralysis, imagines that the sound of his voice is sufficient to awe and intimidate. It was not, however, until the complete arrangement of the family compact between all the members of the house of Bourbon;—a compact which has been the model of that of the dynasties which Buonaparte has since endeavoured to establish, and which may therefore be regarded as originating in some systematic principle of the French nation, and not the accidental effect of temporary circumstances. It was not, however, till the full organization of that

grand conspiracy against the independance of all the other European states, that Spain was allowed to take an active part in the war. But in the meantime under French tuition, she was assiduously employed in augmenting her navy and improving the condition of her force. For she had declined in ability from the accession of the Bourbons to her throne, and of this France was well aware, nor, perhaps, averse to allow; and, therefore, until she was in a condition to defend herself, particularly her rich colonies, it was not expedient to the French that she should take any part in the war. In this, France shewed her usual and characteristic address; but from the moment that Spain evinced any thing like an apprehension of attack from England, and began to refit her marine, the British government ought to have ceased to acknowledge her neutrality: for it was evident from the nature of her connexion with France, that as soon as she was in any condition to abet the projects of the court of Versailles, that she would array herself on the side of France. The event in the end proved so; but there was an obliquity of intellect at this time in the British ministry, and it would not be convinced of the necessary hostility of Spain, even though gross injuries were added to deliberate and unprecedented insults.

In the year 1756, the Spanish cruisers, which, under the name of guardians of the coast, are maintained both during peace and war, begun to molest the British traders; and secret orders were sent from Madrid to prevent the English from cutting wood in the bay of Honduras. These insults being endured by the British ministry, with a tameness suitable to their imbecility, the arrogance of the Spaniards grew more and more courageous, and ventured at last to disregard the established maxims of the public law of nations, founded as it then was, more upon the practice and treaties between the different nations than upon those immutable principles of justice

which constitute the basis of all law, and which in the future reorganization of the great confederation of Christendom, it is to be hoped, will be distinctly promulgated, by the recognition of each state, as a sacred living and individual member of the community of nations.

A French privateer having taken an English vessel on the coast of France, brought her to under the guns of Algeſiras, opposite to Gibraltar: Sir Edward Hawke was at this time in the bay, with his squadron; and, in conjunction with the governor, Lord Tyrawley, he immediately demanded the restitution of the prize, which the governor of Algeſiras positively refused. The demand was not only conceived in a proper spirit, but enforced in a proper manner. The officer who carried the requisition was attended with a number of boats, armed, from the men-of-war, and ordered, in case of refusal, to bring the prize away. This he resolutely executed in the face of the batteries, which committed terrible havoc on the men employed in this daring service. The court of Spain approved of the conduct of the governor, and was highly enraged at the boldness of Sir Edward Hawke.

There was, no doubt, something in the nature of the transaction that, perhaps, called for animadversion on the conduct of the English officers, at least, according to those notions of the law of nations which the French in later times have promulgated for other states, but have never once thought themselves bound to obey; and it certainly appears at the first view, unjust, that a neutral state, which Spain was allowed by the British government to be at this time, should be violated, and that the Spaniards should have been thought obliged to give up the vessel which the French privateer had carried into their port. But the law of nations was not then ravelled by theoretical dogmas. It still stood clear on its antient principles, deduced from the experience and practice of ages. It was still supposed to embrace the general com-

munity of nations, as the laws of particular countries comprehend their subjects. War was regarded as the law-suit of nations, and it was not allowed that any state should preserve its neutrality and at the same time abet the proceedings of a belligerent. This act of protection which the Spaniards exercised towards the French, is the first on record of that violation of the established public laws, which the French government and nation, for the furtherance of their ambitious purposes, have subsequently carried to such an extreme, that the whole world of Europe has risen against them. And it is a curious historical fact, that this remote and obscure transaction formed the example of the reason which, when the family compact was matured, both the Spanish and French courts alleged, as a ground for insisting that Portugal should not remain at peace with Great Britain. Indeed, they carried their destructive principle still farther, for they maintained that the coast of Portugal was so laid down by nature, that she ought not to be permitted to remain at peace, on account of the convenience which her ports afforded to the British ships. It is an impressive circumstance, that the very first overt proceeding upon the principles which the French, for their own convenience, have been so long attempting to impose upon the world, was first committed by Spain acting under their influence. But it was not till several years after that they endeavoured to represent to the rest of Europe, that there was a necessity for adopting these new principles, in order and for the purpose of reducing the ascendancy which Great Britain had, by the superiority of her seamen, acquired in maritime transactions over France. The cabinet of London did not, however, see the affair of the privateer in the light which they ought to have done. But the people of England were not so stupid as the government, and their clamour and alarm at this and other derogatory occurrences, became at length so vehement, that the court was obliged

to change the administration, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were called into office. The nation was delighted with the alteration, for there was much in the character of Mr. Pitt that assimilated him to the character of the nation. He was haughty, bold, resolute, and magnanimous: in his personal qualities were concentrated, the leading qualities of the English; and, perhaps, few statesmen were ever better fitted to gain the confidence of a people, than the first Pitt was to obtain that of the English; nor was any statesman ever so universally popular. But that which rendered him so suitable to be the minister of his country, was obnoxious to the court, which had in it at this time, much of that corrupt leaven which promotes secret intrigues and cabals more than public actions; and until it was effectively purged off, neither he or any other man could restore that vigour to the government which the nation at home demanded, and the state of affairs abroad required. Mr. Pitt and his respectable colleague, immediately on their accession to authority, began to act upon English and popular principles. This the court party saw, would tend to improve the national affairs, at the expense of their personal interests, and therefore, they contrived to induce the king to dismiss the new ministers. A step of this kind was wanted, to set the reformation properly afoot. Before any public change can be effected, the ruling power must be led, by the infatuation which renders the change requisite, to commit some error of policy, which will have the effect of embodying against it, all those who are interested in the advantages to be derived from the change. The dismissal of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge from office, was the signal for the nation to unite against the party that occasioned it; and such was the indignation produced by the event, that the court found itself obliged to solicit them to resume their offices, or in other words, to make them a tacit surrender of the official superiority; by which Mr. Pitt, under the

name of secretary of state for the foreign department, became, in fact, prime minister. From this epoch, the war assumed a new character, and Sir Edward Hawke, wherever he was employed, seconded that presiding energy which now triumphantly directed the councils of England.

At this period the French armies were making a formidable progress in Germany. It was suggested to Mr. Pitt, that the best way in which the navy of Great Britain could be employed to counteract this, was by distracting the attention of the cabinet of Versailles; and that the most effectual way of doing so, would be, to alarm the French coast, and carry war at once into the bosom of France. The design was bold and practicable; but the state of the British disposable army was such, that the project could not be actually carried into effect: at the same time, with the assistance of the navy, and a judicious choice of the scene of operations, it was thought that such an impression might be made on the French territory, as would have, at least, a temporary effect on the operations of the campaign in Germany. Accordingly, it was resolved, that an expedition should be fitted out against Rochfort, the fortifications of which were represented to be in such a state, that although it was one of the most considerable naval ports of France, it was thought that it might be carried out of hand. For this purpose, ten regiments, under the command of Sir John Mordaunt, were embarked, and the command of the men-of-war appointed to co-operate with the land forces, was entrusted to Sir Edward Hawke.

The expedition sailed with a fair wind, and stood for the bay of Biscay. On making the isle of Oleron, Hawke gave orders to Admiral Knowles, who was second in command, to proceed with his division to Basque roads, and to attack the fort in the isle of Aix; but the execution of this order was suspended, by a French man-of-war ap-

pearing in sight. Admiral Knowles was an indecisive character, and hesitated so long as to whether he ought to give chase to the enemy or proceed to execute his orders, that the one, was incapable of properly performing his other more immediate duty, and two days elapsed before he had effected what he ought to have done the first night.

After taking possession of the isle of Aix, five days were spent in sounding the depth of water and other prudential deliberations, which the general thought necessary, but which were unsuitable to the circumstances. Upwards of a week had elapsed from the appearance of the expedition on the coast of France, and Sir John Mordaunt was still dubious about the propriety of landing. He had given time for the enemy to collect an army, and he was so incapable for the trust to which he had been appointed, that he continued to reason upon premises, which, if they justified him to doubt at first, surely, at the end of eight days ought to have convinced him, that they then rendered the objects of the expedition totally impracticable.

In the meantime, besides the important consideration that the enemy, from the first moment of alarm, would be busy in preparations, a number of reports and circumstances came crowding upon the attention to such a degree, that Sir John Mordaunt, poor man, became quite puzzled, lost confidence in his own judgment, and called a council of war, in order to screen himself from responsibility, totally forgetting that although in planning measures there is an advantage in having the sanction of the majority, yet that in the execution of predetermined enterprises a different rule ought to be taken, especially when the object relates to the carrying of orders into effect, which no new occurrence had rendered questionable. The majority of mankind always think more judiciously of existing circumstances than the minority; but in action, the opinion of the few should always be preferred; and the principle in military

affairs of confining the command to one person, is the result of the universal tacit assent of mankind to this truth. It is the characteristic of minds unworthy of command, to seek the approbation and sanction of others to their proceedings. Sir John Mordaunt was an officer of this description.

The result of the council of war accorded with the wishes of the general; it was declared that an attack on Rochfort was neither advisable nor practicable. But although this was the opinion of the majority, it appears, that such had been the arguments of the minority, that the general did not feel himself justified in acting upon the safe advice which he had received. Another day passed in worse than useless hesitation: another council of war was called: it consisted of the same persons as the former, and yet it decided, that the troops ought to be landed and the attack made.

Accordingly, on the same evening the soldiers were ordered to disembark from the ships into the boats. The men were full of spirit and eager for service. The general was in a far different humour. The disembarkation was countermanded, and the men sullenly again mounted from the boats into the transports. Hawke, by this time, was so disgusted with the want of enterprise in the generals, that on the following morning he informed Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if he had nothing farther to propose, he would return with the fleet to England. With feelings that must have been most irksome to himself, the general approved of the admiral's resolution, and the fleet returned home. The ministers and nation, equally dissatisfied with the expedition, brought Sir John Mordaunt to trial by a court martial: he was, however, honourably acquitted.

It is the peculiar nature of prudence, to be at once so like virtue, and yet to have so much of selfishness in it, that it may be judicially approved, while it is morally

blameable. It was so in the conduct of Sir John Mordaunt. That officer was distinguished for military knowledge, and for those deliberative powers of understanding which qualify a man for being a respectable statesman, while they unfit him for the office of a military commander. His behaviour in this affair, though highly contemptible, as the leader in a hazardous enterprise, was still so guided by a scrupulous attention to circumstances, that it was hardly possible to examine the details without feeling something of the same kind of influence from them, which no doubt governed him; and therefore, if the court martial consisted, as it probably did, of persons constituted like the delinquent, it is not extraordinary that he was honourably acquitted. The conduct of Sir Edward Hawke was, however, approved by a more extensive tribunal; that tribunal which takes cognizance only of the actions, and not of the motives of men. He became more and more popular with the nation.

Although the expedition to Rochfort was unsuccessful in its immediate objects, and deeply disgraceful to the commander, it nevertheless essentially contributed to the objects for which it was undertaken. It served to convince the French court of the necessity of keeping a great part of their army to defend the coast at home, and thereby weakened their means of conquest in Germany. While we are masters of the seas, and have any disposable force at all, the French shore may be kept in such a state of alarm, by expeditions fitted out for the purpose of partial annoyance and local menace, that a numerous army must be kept in a constant state of readiness, to defend the various points exposed to attack. It is amazing that this sort of warfare has never formed any part of the offensive system of Great Britain against France. It has been argued that it would be cruel, because it would visit the crimes of the government on the subjects: but is there any other way of punishing governments, except

through the sufferings of their subjects? If it is legitimate warfare to capture the ships of merchants on the open sea, and to cut them out of harbours, in what consists the difference of carrying fire and sword into the houses of the farmer or the noble? Are merchants, soldiers, and sailors, the only classes of the community that should suffer the immediate horrors of war? What is there in the others, that they should be spared? What is there in the machinery of the manufacturer more holy, than in the mercantile vessel, that it should not be torn from its purpose, and broken where it stands? Forbearance in war is criminality; and the exercise of mercy so beautiful after conquest, so honourable to triumphant valour, is patricide, when it spares the foe who has not submitted. When we talk of nations being compelled to make peace, and of dictating to ambitious rulers the necessity of respecting the rights of other countries, is it only by overcoming their fleets and armies that we can succeed? Have civil subjects no influence on their governments? Would the destruction of New York or Philadelphia have less effect on the government of America, than the capture of half a dozen frigates, or the dispersion, like a flock of birds, of four or five thousand militia? Would the burning to the ground of Bourdeaux, have vexed Buonaparte less than the loss of the battle of Vittoria? Would the destruction of Calais by the rockets of Congreve, produce less effect at Paris than the storming of Badajoz by Lord Wellington? When nations have resolved on war, there is no humanity in forbearance. Humanity is indeed criminality, for it has the effect of prolonging the sufferings and misfortunes of those who, by the courtesy of modern times, are exposed to the immediate effect of hostile operations: nor, until it can be demonstrated that merchants ought to sustain the hardships of war more than the other

classes of the civil community, can we understand why expeditions of annoyance and destruction should not constantly infest the coast of France, until the whole inhabitants have been exasperated to that degree, that their government shall be obliged to pay attention to their complaints. Expeditions for objects of permanent conquest in France would be despicable, if they were not ruinous; but expeditions appointed to seize, burn, and destroy, might effect an impression more serious and humiliating at Paris, than the results of the greatest victories which have been elsewhere achieved.

After the unsuccessful enterprise against Rochfort, the British government, under the auspices and active genius of Mr. Pitt, commenced a series of decisive operations on an extended scale; in furtherance of which Sir Edward Hawke was appointed to blockade the French ports in the bay of Biscay, where expeditions were actively preparing to frustrate the designs which the British minister entertained against the American colonies of the enemy.

Having been appointed to the command of a squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line and three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on the 11th of March, 1758, from Spithead; on the 3d of April, at day-break, he made Basque roads, where discovering a numerous convoy to windward, he immediately gave chase to them. The wind was unfavourable, and the convoy, with three frigates that escorted it, got into St. Martin's; in the isle of Rhe, except one brig, which was run on shore and destroyed. At four in the afternoon, he discovered five sail of the line, with six or seven frigates, and about forty transports, which had three thousand troops on board, lying off the isle of Aix. At five, the enemy began to cut and run in great confusion; at six, their commodore also made off with himself, and by this time many of the ships which had fled first were safe in the mud. At five

next morning the whole fleet was aground, high and almost dry, about five or six miles distant from the English squadron. Many of the transports and some of the men-of-war were on their beam ends. As soon as the flood tide began to make, Hawke put his best pilots on board the *Intrepid* and *Medway*, and sent them a gunshot farther in, where they anchored. By this time, boats and launches of every description from Rochfort were employed in carrying out warps to drag and claw the ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne: nor were the people on board less busy; guns, stores, ballast, were incessantly seen plunging from on board, and the ships gradually advancing near and nearer to the shore. The boats of the English frigates were, in the mean time, as active, cutting away the buoys which the enemy had left on their anchors, and the stores they had thrown overboard. On the 5th, a detachment of one hundred and fifty marines were landed on the isle of Madame, and destroyed the new works constructing there, without molesting the inhabitants.

In this manner, Sir Edward frustrated an expedition on the point of sailing, and soon after returned to England, where a grand attack on the coast of France being planned, he was appointed to command under Lord Anson. On the 1st of June they sailed from St. Helen's, but while they were proceeding down the bay of Biscay, he was seized with a violent fever, and obliged to quit the fleet and return to Portsmouth, which he reached on the 29th of the same month, and immediately struck his flag.

From the accession of Mr. Pitt to the government, disaster and disgrace overtook the French arms in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. To revenge and vindicate the character of their country, the French ministry resolved on an undertaking which should amply indemnify them for all their losses; and this was an invasion of England, not for the purpose of molesting or annoying, like the rational

expeditions which Mr. Pitt projected against the shores of France, but with the proud, or rather insolent hope of an entire conquest. The idea was the conception of rage, founded on ignorance, and incapable of accomplishment, with tenfold all the means which France could then muster. To counteract this bombastic project, and to demonstrate its absurdity, the British government resolved to shut the French ports by a strict blockade; and Sir Edward Hawke was appointed to cruise off Brest, from which station he was driven by a violent tempest, and compelled to shelter his fleet in Torbay. On the 14th of November the storm abated, and Monsieur Conflans, seeing the coast clear, put to sea. On the same day, Admiral Hawke also left England.

On the 16th he was off Ushant. On that afternoon, several English transports returning from Quiberon bay, passed through the fleet, and informed the admiral that they had seen the French squadron on the preceding day, standing to the south-east, and distant about twenty-three leagues from Belleisle. The intelligence was received by the whole British fleet with acclamations, and every ship prepared for action. The wind also became favourable, and every sail was spread to catch the gale.

On the 20th, about half an hour after eight o'clock in the morning, the Maidstone frigate let fly her topgallant sails, which was a signal for discovering a fleet. About nine Lord Howe, in the *Magnanime*, made signal that they were enemies. Sir Edward Hawke immediately told his officers, that he did not intend to trouble himself with forming lines, but would attack them in the old way, to make downright work with them; and accordingly he threw out a signal for seven of his ships to chace, in order to allure the enemy to fight.

As the British neared on the French, the weather became squally and rough; but Conflans in a very gallant style seemed to offer battle: his courage, however, soon

cooled, and long before the fleets were within the range of shot, he changed his plan, and stood right afore the wind towards the shore. It was two in the afternoon before our headmost ships could get up with his rear; but at that time the Warspite and Dorsetshire began to fire.

The imagination can conceive nothing more sublime than the spectacle which the hostile squadrons presented at this moment. A dreadful storm darkened the face of the heavens. The sea was rolling in tremendous waves, which on all sides were dashing themselves into foam on treacherous rocks and shallows unknown to the English pilots. In the midst of these terrible circumstances, calculated, from the very majesty of the physical power in action, to awe and intimidate, two adverse navies, the greatest that had been employed in one of the greatest wars in the annals of Europe, freighted with the fate, and worthy of being entrusted with the glory of the rival nations, were preparing for battle.

It was a moment, as if nature had resolved to contrast the tameness of physical terror with the grandeur of heroism; and to shew how much more sublime are the moral sentiments of a collected mind, than all the awful phænomena of the heavens darkened, and the ocean agitated by a tempest, with the multifarious dangers of secret rocks and unknown shallows.

In the open sea Conflans might have hazarded a battle, without the imputation of temerity, as his fleet was equal in force to that of Hawke, but like a prudent commander, he endeavoured to avail himself of all the advantages arising from the local knowledge of his pilots, who were well acquainted with the navigation of the shallows. He directed them to steer in such a manner, as to decoy the English among the rocks. But the very execution of this proceeding, which at the time was thought disreputable to his character as a commander, required more

time in execution than the occasion allowed, and the British ships came up with the French before they were well prepared for action.

At half an hour after two o'clock, the British van opened their fire on the French rear. The Formidable, a French man-of-war, commanded by Admiral de Verger, a man of great courage and noble determination, behaved in the most heroic manner; broadside after broadside were poured into her by the British, as they sailed successively past towards the van of the enemy; and she returned their fire with a promptitude that excited the admiration of friends and foes. In the mean time, the Royal George, with Hawke on board, was approaching the Soleil Royal, which bore the flag of Conflans. Intent, as it were, only on her prey, she passed on without heeding the shot of the other ships. The sea was dashing over her bows, and as she came rapidly nearer, she appeared as if she had been actuated by the furiousness of rage.

Her pilot seeing the breakers foaming on every side, told the admiral that he could not go farther, without the most imminent danger from the shoals. "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger," said Hawke; "but lay me alongside of the Soleil Royal." The pilot bowed in obedience, and gave the necessary orders.

The Superbe, a French ship of seventy guns, perceiving what was intended by the movements of the English admiral, generously interposed between her commander, and received the whole fatal broadside which the Royal George had intended for Monsieur Conflans. The thunder of the explosion was succeeded by a wild shriek from all on board: the British sailors gave a shout of triumph, which was instantly checked by a far other feeling; for the smoke clearing away, only the masts of the Superbe, with her colours still flying, were seen above the water, and in a moment they were covered by a roll of the sea, and seen no more: but the Soleil Royal was spared; she

escaped to the shore, where she was afterwards burnt with disgrace.

About four in the afternoon, the *Formidable*, which had maintained the whole battle with such heroic determination, struck her colours, but not until after all her officers had been killed. The *Heros*, a seventy-four, also struck, and the *Thesee*, of seventy guns, was sunk like the *Superbe*.

Darkness coming on, the remainder of the enemy's fleet fled; seven ships of the line, hove their guns overboard, and ran into the river *Villaix*; about as many more, in a shattered condition, escaped to other ports.

The wind blowing strong inshore, Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island of *Dûmet*. Here the fleet remained during the night, and as the tempest continued to increase, the darkness was occasionally broken by the flashes of cannon, and the howl of the wind; and the roar of the breakers was augmented in horror by the sound of guns of distress.

This action, more memorable on account of the terrific circumstances in which it was fought, than any other of equal magnitude in the annals of heroic achievement, was duly appreciated by the whole of Europe at the time; and the celebrated *Voltaire* did honour to that gallantry of his nation, which has since been so lamentably obscured by the atrocious and vulgar miscreants, who, from the commencement of the revolution, have successively usurped the antient government,—in admitting that there were natural circumstances, which gave an inherent superiority to the English marine, in all ages, over that of France.

In stating this, it ought not to be concealed, that the character of the French nation had even then, in the public conduct of its officers, in many instances, declined from the integrity of its former honour; and that in the

transactions which immediately originated from this engagement, the symptoms of that abominable profligacy which has in later times spread a moral pestilence throughout the world, were very distinctly manifested.

After the battle, the *Heros*, one of the prizes, had the dishonesty, in the course of the night, to slip her cables, and run on shore in a situation where, as she could not be got off, it was thought necessary to destroy her. Hawke, according to the laws of war, demanded her officers and crew as his prisoners; but the Duke of Aiguillon, who commanded the French troops on shore, not only refused to deliver up the men, but interrupted the British sailors in setting fire to the *Heros*, although a convention had been granted for that express purpose, and wrote to the admiral, complaining of the irregularity of the whole of his proceedings.

Admiral Hawke's reply has fortunately come into our possession, and is not only in itself curious, as an historical document, but highly characteristic, and tintured with a degree of sly humour, not usually met with in diplomatic remonstrances. It was as follows :

“ Royal George, 12th Dec. 1759.

“ My Lord---I have the honour of your grace's letter of the 11th instant. In answer to which, I beg leave to acquaint you, that Captain Oury has acted entirely by my orders, and that I approve of what he has done. His manifesto, of which your grace has transmitted me a copy, is a sufficient proof of his humanity, and the tenderness of my orders, which were not to fire unless he should be fired upon.

“ Without farther recollection, I need only have recourse to my letter to your grace of the 29th November, by Lord Howe, with regard to the *Heros*. My words are—‘ I therefore claim these officers and men as

“ prisoners, and expect from your grace’s known honour,
“ that they will be delivered up to me.’ The hull and
“ guns were not mentioned; for the first I had set on fire,
“ and the second I looked on as in my own power to
“ recover. Let me farther beg your grace to look over
“ the agreement you signed with Lord Howe. Is the
“ artillery so much as mentioned in it? No. Every
“ article of it I have strictly observed; exchanged sea-
“ men, released officers, soldiers, and militia, on the
“ terms of the cartel, and sent the *gardes marines* ashore
“ on parole. I could not help being surprised that no
“ notice was taken in that agreement, of my claims to the
“ Heros’ officers and men; and was answered, that mat-
“ ter belonged to another department, and not to your
“ grace, which occasioned my writing to you again on
“ that subject. I can only further assure your grace, that
“ had a captain of a British ship-of-war, under my com-
“ mand, begged quarter, and surrendered to the French,
“ and afterwards ran away with the ship, in open breach
“ of the rules of war, I would have immediately deli-
“ vered up the ship, with the commander, to have been
“ treated as the forfeiture of his honour deserved.

“ I assure your grace, upon my honour, that I never
“ heard of any memorial to be presented to the Admi-
“ ralty of England, who have no concern in matters of
“ this kind. By the bounty of their king, British sea-
“ men are entitled to every thing surrendered by and
“ taken from an enemy in war. In their name, and for
“ their benefit, I shall endeavour to recover the Heros’
“ guns, and also those of the *Soleil Royal*, which was
“ deserted, and left to our mercy. The delivery of the
“ officers and men is all that depends at present on the
“ honour of your court, for the artillery are within our
“ reach. Our endeavours to take them away being justi-
“ fiable, I was in hopes would not have been inter-
“ rupted; but since your grace and the Marquis de Broc

“ have thought fit to fire on my ships, I shall take as
 “ severe a revenge as I can along your coast, as soon as I
 “ receive supplies from Britain.

“ For I came out near eight months ago, only fur-
 “ nished with orders to decide the fate of the two nations
 “ with Monsieur Conflans in the open sea; but when we
 “ met, as he did not choose to stay for me, he has thereby
 “ changed the nature of my military operations, and
 “ reduced me to the necessity (entirely repugnant to my
 “ natural disposition) of sending fire and sword into that
 “ country, from whence your grace, with forty battalions
 “ under your command, by the authenticated instructions
 “ of M. de Belleisle, was to have spread the most dread-
 “ ful calamities of war in Great Britain and Ireland. I
 “ cannot persuade myself your grace was serious, when
 “ you termed my enterprise irregular: it was merriment,
 “ and I shall not hereafter be surprised, if in the same
 “ *gaiete de cœur* I should be accused of acting irregularly
 “ in attacking M. de Conflans (after a chase of twenty
 “ leagues in the open sea) within your islands, and on
 “ your coast, and setting fire to the *Soleil Royal*, &c.

“ As an individual, I honour and respect the Duke
 “ d'Aiguillon: as a commander of a British squadron
 “ against a declared enemy, I strictly obey the orders of
 “ the king my master, only following my own judgment,
 “ as circumstances may require.

“ I have the honour to be, with the most profound
 “ respect and regard,

“ Your grace's most obedient,

“ and most humble servant,

“ EDWARD HAWKE.”

On the 17th of January, 1760, Hawke arrived at Ply-
 mouth, and on the 21st of the same month he waited on
 his steady patron, the king, by whom he was received in
 that free and hearty manner, which was the peculiar

characteristic of old George the Second. When he was announced, the king advanced to him as he entered the room, and thanked him aloud for the services which he had rendered to the nation; and he afterwards settled two thousand pounds per annum on him for life, and the lives of his two sons and the survivors of them.

On the 28th of the same month, Sir Edward attended in his place in the House of Commons, when the Speaker addressed him as follows :

“ Sir Edward Hawke,

“ The house hath unanimously resolved, that their thanks be given to you for the late signal victory obtained by you over the French fleet.

“ You are now, sir, happily returned to your country, after a long, but most important service; and are returned victorious and triumphant, and full of honour. You met the applause of your countrymen in their minds and hearts, and which they had manifested before in all the outward demonstrations of public joy and congratulation.

“ Your expedition was for the nearest and most affecting concern to us,—the immediate defence of his majesty’s kingdoms, against a disappointed and enraged enemy, meditating in their revenge, our destruction at once: your trust, therefore, sir, was of the highest nature; but to which your characters of courage, fidelity, vigilance, and abilities, were known to be equal. You soon freed us from fears; and have answered all our hopes, that bravery and conduct could give, or a turbulent war and seasons would admit of; even the last did not disturb or diminish your spirit and vigour. You had overawed the enemy in their ports,—in their chief naval force, till shame, perhaps, or desperation, brought them forth at last. You fought them, subdued them, and, in their confusion and dismay, made those

“ who could escape, to seek their security in flight and
“ disgrace.

“ Thus their long preparing invasion was then broken
“ and dispelled; and which cannot but bring to our re-
“ membrance, the design and the fate of another armada,
“ in a former age of glory, whose defeat was, at that time,
“ the safety of England, and the lasting renown of the
“ English navy.

“ These, sir, are your late eminent services to your
“ king and country, and have been now enumerated, not
“ from any imagination that they are unknown any where,
“ or can ever be forgotten, but your presence with us
“ makes them to rise, with their first strength in our
“ thoughts; and the recounting of them gives us a fresh
“ spirit of joy in our acknowledgments of them. Our
“ acknowledgments then, sir, you have, for these your
“ past services: permit us to add our expectations too of
“ what may be your future merits in the defence of the
“ rights and honour of your country, wherever you shall
“ again command.

“ It is a very pleasing office to me, to convey these
“ thanks of the house to you, and to give you, in the
“ name of the commons of Great Britain, their thanks,
“ for the late signal victory obtained by you over the
“ French fleet.”

The feelings with which Hawke must have received this address, may be conceived, but not described. It is such occurrences as these that constitute the reward of dangers. It is the hope of meeting with such applause, that forms the motives of heroic actions. The character of the British people is more solid in its qualities, than almost any other. They are naturally disposed to prefer the useful before the magnificent, and have insensibly adopted in the rewards which they bestow on merit, a mode of conferring distinctions peculiar to themselves. Undoubtedly, the unanimous vote of the collective wisdom of the nation,

which is supposed to reside in parliament, has something in it infinitely more gratifying to a great mind, than the shouts and huzzas of a multitude attending the return of a conqueror, with all the pomp and circumstances of his command augmented with the trophies of victory. There is a physical gratification of the eye, in witnessing the splendour of military array; but what man, who really possesses the true sense of glory, would not prefer the sublimity of the thanks of the British parliament, to all the ostentatious pageants of a Roman triumph? In the one, the spectacle is all that is great, and the eye sees all that is bestowed; but in the other, a simple notification is given to the mind, but it has more than the power ascribed to magical invocations. For the imagination in vain attempts to trace the extent of the machinery requisite to be formed for attaining it, or the effects of the consequences to which it leads. The nature and effects of a Roman triumph were temporary and local, limited to the spectators and to Rome. But the grandeur of the thanks of the British parliament, are as perpetual as the British laws, and as extensive as the nation. In all ages they have the same value, and the most distant posterity will feel them as highly as they were felt by the age in which they were conferred; for it will be recollected, that they were bestowed by the deliberative determination of a large body of men, the most respectable in the kingdom, and among them, the greatest and the wisest of their time; and who, before they were deemed qualified to bestow this envied and desirable honour, were themselves exposed in many instances, to the ordeal of cotemporary invidiousness, and preferred to the trust only, because they were thought likely to preserve and support those admirable institutions which have raised the character of England to the highest eminence of renown. This is not all; among them are the descendants of men who have long been classed among the worthiest of the human race, and who may naturally

be supposed jealous of others being elevated to the dignity of their ancestors, since it is the nature of honour to sink as it becomes common. All that is national and popular contributes to the rewards bestowed by the British parliament, and the actions which obtain them, must be so decidedly of a superior kind, that cotemporary invidiousness, and the jealousy of ancestral dignity shall not venture to manifest themselves. How greatly superior are they to the favours of kings, or to the applause of senators independant of the people.

To the address of the Speaker, Hawke rose and said, in a plain unaffected manner,—

“ Mr. Speaker, I own myself greatly at a loss, as to the proper manner of acknowledging the great honour conferred on me by this august house, in their distinguished approbation of my conduct on the 20th of November last. In doing my utmost, I only did the duty I owed my king and country, which ever has been, and shall be, my greatest ambition to perform faithfully and honestly, to the best of my ability. I can only assure this honourable house, that I receive this mark of honour with the greatest respect; and I shall ever retain the most grateful sense of it.

“ Before I sit down, permit me, sir, in particular, to return you my most respectful thanks, for the obliging manner in which you have communicated to me the great honour done me by the house, which I shall always esteem as the greatest obligation.”

It ought to be added, that such indeed was the estimation in which the nation held this honoured victory, that a special form and prayer of thanksgiving was ordered to be offered throughout the kingdom.

The conduct of Sir Edward Hawke was, independant of his particular merits, calculated to inspire respect. For so great a man, he had fewer particularities of humour or thought about him than most men of high talents are

liable to possess. His feelings were always in just subordination to his judgment, and he was able to veil the enthusiasm of his mind in such a way with the orderly demeanour of the world, that it never necessitated him to draw on the indulgence of those around him, on account of his public achievements, in order to countervail the effect of personal indiscretions.

Among other marks of public gratitude, he was at this time presented with the freedom of the city of Cork, in a gold box.

In August, 1760, he was sent again to sea, to relieve Admiral Boscawen, who had continued cruising off Brest and Rochfort. By this time, the blockade measure was reduced into something like a system, and Hawke conceived it might be improved, if, as well as trusting for supplies of fresh beef and water, by transports, which the winds might prevent from reaching the fleet, a station and dépôt of stores could be established on the French coast. For this purpose he took the island of Dumet, which was defended by a battery of nine guns and only a company of soldiers.

There is, perhaps, no kind of service more trying to the courage of men than that of the blockade system; the aim and object of which, is to prevent those enterprises which perhaps constitute the charm of a martial life. A constant watching of the enemy, with the intention of giving battle, has in it a cheerful and animating hope. It is the spirit of the huntsman in quest of game, and the first appearance of the chance of engaging dissipates all chagrin. But the blockade system has none of this interest; its object is to prevent that very variety by which war, in every other case, recommends itself to the intrepid mind. Day after day, night after night, week after week, and month after month, is spent in the same dull pursuit: the tropical calms of the pacific ocean are not more tedious than this unvaried service; the storm is enjoyed in it as a

recreation, and the excitement produced by the dangers of shipwreck, is absolutely a relief. In the rapid and stimulating hour of battle, the mind derives an energy from circumstances that makes the man attempt and perform feats of which his nature might almost be thought incapable; such paroxysms of valour, are, however, of short duration, and when the fit is over, when the animation of the battle has subsided, and the sad and heavy night of death and wounds, which follows the day of victory, is closed in, even the inured fortitude of the British sailor relaxes, and the heart, which, a few hours before, was so full of courageous alacrity, sinks exhausted, far below its usual temper. The spirit of the sailor throughout the cheerless and tedious service of the blockade, becomes stagnant; he feels like a prisoner: but usage, which reconciles a man to all other situations, serves in this only to sicken the hope of relief.

If, however, to those employed in the service, there can be no state more distressing, there is, perhaps, no other kind of service so advantageous to the country, and so mortifying to the enemy. It keeps the seas open to our merchantmen, and, by stopping danger as it were at the fountain head, more effectually protects our distant possessions, than a much greater force could otherwise possibly do: it saves us at home from the constant alarm in which we should feel ourselves, if the fleets of the enemy were allowed to range the seas; and it has the effect, from the inaction which it occasions in his ports, to induce a relaxation of discipline conducive to the preservation of our superiority. But while such are the effects on the men employed, and such the benefits which it brings to the country,—benefits, in the comprehensive nature of their political effects, of greater consequence than the results of the greatest victories, it ought to be the duty of those who have the regulation of the service to institute such an order of succession in the ships em-

ployed, that no man-of-war should ever be many months on the same station.

For the peculiar nature of the blockade service Admiral Hawke was singularly well constituted; his mind possessed a remarkable constancy in resolution; he was bold, without that restless irritability which is often attached to bravery; and the firmness of his character enabled him to endure this cheerless service with as much serenity as he enjoyed the animating scenes of battle.

In the year 1761, the Spanish government, which, during the war, had been regularly and actively employed in reorganizing its offensive means, as we have already hinted, for the purpose of assisting France, finding itself arrived to such maturity in its preparations as rendered it no longer expedient to conceal its intentions, began to manifest its hostile views, with that absurd insolence which is characteristic of the nation. France, mortified and enraged by the success of Mr. Pitt's administration, was in the meantime more and more incited to precipitate Spain into the war, and to exercise that authority over her vassal which she effectually possessed. But with that dexterous and subtle craft in policy which has distinguished the French nation above every other that has ever existed, she was aware that pretexts were requisite before Spain could step from her neutrality. These the high and manly conduct of the British minister prevented her from obtaining, and she was reduced, in order to save herself from the ruin with which she was menaced, to commit into a tangible form those principles by which, for so many years before, she had endeavoured to acquire the dictating power of all Europe.

From the accession of a branch of the house of Bourbon to the thrones of Spain and Naples, France was in fact, as we have already alleged, the sovereign state of the greatest part of the Christian world, and the principles which, during the war of 1756, were embodied in "THE

"FAMILY COMPACT," had really been long acted upon by means of the ties of royal relationship. The compact itself was, in fact, only an ostentatious display of power, formed with the intention of intimidating the rest of Europe, by the comprehensiveness of its objects; and published, with a view to assert the superiority of France.

The first manifestations of this family alliance were worthy of its principles and the vicious spirits that contrived it. For ages, Great Britain and Portugal had been friends. It had so happened, that neither of their respective interests were exposed to jarring, and a reciprocal commerce was fostered by both their governments. Spain, which, as a conquering nation, has been the most barbarous, except the Ottoman, that ever scourged the race of man, was at this moment inspired by France, with a wish to reduce Portugal, which, as it formed no part of the territories of the presumptuous Bourbons, was thought to be a desirable acquisition; a suitable territory, into which Spain might carry that desolation with which she had overwhelmed Mexico and Peru. Portugal was the ally, but the neutral ally of England, neither partaking in the war, nor affected by its events; but to be the ally of England was cause of offence sufficient for France to decree, that Portugal should be subdued. And accordingly, it was demanded that the court of Lisbon should submit to the dictation of the Bourbons, in every respect. The king of Portugal, with a magnanimity honourable even to his rank, refused, and declared his intention to maintain the principles of the law of nations, by adhering to his neutrality, and at the same time, abiding, to the very last extremity, by his friendly connexion with Great Britain.

It became the character of Great Britain to support this noble resolution, with the utmost means that she could spare from a war that now agitated the four quarters of the globe, and whose dangers were augmented to her-

self, by the open accession of Spain to the French cause; and still more by the promulgation of those new and terrible doctrines which France had, at last, the audacity to set forth to the world, in place of the law of nations.

Sir Edward Hawke, with a large fleet of men-of-war, on board of which were officers, troops, artillery, military stores, provisions, and money: every thing that could enable Portugal to exert her natural strength, and every thing that could aid that strength where it was deficient, were accordingly sent from England. The effects were suitable to the justice and merits of the cause. The independence of Portugal was secured, and the aggression of the unprincipled Bourbons chastised with that ignominy to their arms which they so justly deserved. Indeed, the event could hardly have been otherwise, for the Spaniards have, uniformly, in all ages been the worst European soldiers. The triumphs that they have gained, have been over barbarians. Over the other troops of Christendom, the whole annals of their history can boast of no success whatever, upon equal terms.

In the year 1761, Sir Edward Hawke was returned, a second time, member for Portsmouth, which he continued to represent till his advancement to the peerage.

After the peace of 1763, he, of necessity, along with the other great officers who had distinguished themselves in the preceding glorious war, and who had, by the display of the talents and virtues requisite in the hour of danger and victory, augmented the dignity of the human character, retired to the private circles of society. But he carried with him, sources of enjoyment which few men, educated on the boisterous element, and accustomed to the most animating of all active employments, have the happiness to acquire. Notwithstanding the busy nature of his duties, he had a taste for reading; and the retirement to which he was consigned by the peace, was only to him as the calm and easy weather which at sea had led him to

cultivate an acquaintance with books. How much it is to be regretted, that officers are so seldom aware of the advantages and pleasures of this amusement, or know that it, in fact, affords them an anticipation of that fame which their names and achievements will receive from posterity. The commander who, like Hawke, has occupied a large share of the attention of states and nations, will find that the true recompence of his service is not in the noisy applause of the populace, by whom, the best intentions, if not successful, are always undervalued; and the most noble designs, unless triumphant, are often despised; but in that deliberate estimate which the historian makes of the circumstances under which he acted. The greatness of actions does not consist in the magnitude of the means employed, but in the manner of using them; nor should the importance of an officer's service be estimated by the eclat with which he happens to be attended. We have had already, occasion to advert to the importance of the blockade system to the country, and to point out, how much more it is conducive to our national interests, than the fruits of the greatest victories. But how little is it calculated to repay the assiduity, the fortitude, the strength of character with which it requires to be enforced. In the lap of retirement, when the triumphant shouts which welcome the return of the victor have subsided, the officer whose patience and perseverance have as effectually served his country, as the intrepidity of the hero who obtained the first place in the public affection, receives from the historian his due reward. But unless he has the inclination to read, how apt is he to accuse the world of ingratitude and insensibility to his merits! little reflecting that mankind are always, sooner or later, generous to real military virtues, although it necessarily often must happen, that the brilliant will at first attract a greater share of approbation than the useful.

Sir Edward Hawke continued in retirement till the 5th of November, 1765, on which day the king promoted him to the rank of vice-admiral of Great Britain.

On the 2d of December, in the following year, he was appointed first lord of the Admiralty. Thus, with no other interest at his outset in life than the vigour of his native endowments, did he attain the very highest pinnacle of his profession. His father, as an incitement to behave well, had held out to him the chance of his rising to the rank of a captain. The anecdote served to shew how very slender were his domestic means of patronage. The high rank which he had now attained affords, therefore, the most decisive proof of how well he must have followed the advice of his father. He continued to preside at the Admiralty board till the 9th of January, 1771, when he resigned. During his administration, nothing more remarkable happened in the naval annals than the prosecution of those voyages of discovery, which were undertaken immediately after the peace of 1763, the design and objects of which were known to have originated with his present majesty; and therefore, although Hawke had the honour of directing the naval affairs of the kingdom when Captain Cook was appointed to this service, little credit for the merits of employing that great navigator, or for the general utility of the series of voyages, is due to the Admiralty. It was an accidental duty which they performed, and constituted no part of an official system.

The particular motives which induced Hawke to resign the situation of first lord of the Admiralty, are not now distinctly known. Throughout his life, though particularly attached, by professional duty and personal gratitude, to the royal family, he had never been regarded as a party-man, and therefore, whether his resignation was dictated by private reasons, or from a sense of public duty, in consequence of the disturbances which at this time were so

very generally manifested in America, is not now to be ascertained.

On the 20th of May, 1776, the king, in consideration of the great services which he had rendered to the country, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, by the style and title of Baron Hawke of Towton, in the County of York. It has become, somehow, customary to speak of the good old past times, but few who peruse this biographical sketch, will refuse to allow, that the present age has not been inferior, in generosity, to any former, in recognizing by personal rewards the value of naval and military service. We think the present age decidedly more liberal in this respect than any former, in the annals of England, or any other country; and we regard it as no inconsiderable testimony of an improvement in the sense of merit. The military and naval history of England have abundantly demonstrated that civilization and commerce do not impair the hardy qualities of the belligerent character, and the rewards bestowed on our recent worthies, equally demonstrate that the reverence for public virtue is unquestionably augmented by the progress of the arts and literature.

After his advancement to the peerage, Lord Hawke took no share in the transactions of public life. He had early married, but while he was absent in the Mediterranean, superseding Admiral Byng, his wife died, leaving him four children, of whom only Martin Bladen, the second Lord Hawke, was alive at the time of his death, which happened on the 17th of October, 1781.

The Right Hon. Edward, Lord Hawke, whose memoirs have been related, indicated by his external qualities the natural vigour of his intellectual faculties. He was above the ordinary stature of his countrymen, and the structure of his frame had that uniform compactness of appearance throughout, which makes the body seem as if it were in all its limbs subject to the action of the mental

powers—an organization equally remote from meagreness, the uniform sign of some mental weakness, when it is not the effect of disease, and from *pillowyness* of muscle, which is as uniformly an index of the indolence that occasions stupidity. He was, however, rather a well-formed than a handsome man: the expression of his countenance was more respectable than agreeable, for although his disposition was neither haughty nor passionate, there was a tincture of severity in his character, which repressed the affection of familiarity. His forehead was tall, but somewhat square, indicating at once quickness of apprehension, and that firmness of resolution which is distinguished from obstinacy, by being subject to the influence of persuasion. It was only in the cast of his eyes that the symptoms of his constitutional severity manifested itself; for in other respects, we should have expected from the character in the rest of his features, that he was a man of frank inclinations, and disposed to jocularity, though his humour might have been tinged with satire. Nothing in his appearance could have led the world to believe him eccentric; but there was much to excite respect, and to induce a belief that he was no ordinary character. His life, conduct, and great success, verify and confirm these observations.

MEMOIRS OF THE HONOURABLE JOHN BYRON.

IN a work devoted to the commemoration of individual merit, it may appear superfluous to notice the hereditary dignity of those who, by their own actions, have established a right to honour. But it is gratifying to shew, in an age when the virtues of pedigree have been so vehemently attacked, that there is some foundation in nature for that reverence, which the undebauched commonality of mankind are disposed to pay to the claims

of high birth: for what is it that constitutes hereditary rank, but a succession of eminent men in the same line, without which no family, however fortified by entails, or supported by possessions, could for many generations maintain its superiority above the common race. And surely it is useful that those, who by their own efforts acquire distinction, should be instructed to impress on their posterity the worthiness of persevering in the track which they have themselves successfully pursued.

Few families in the British peerage boast a more illustrious descent than that of the Byrons, and it may be doubted whether the French or English branch be the most celebrated, the former for courtly virtues and romantic adventures, or the latter for actual deeds and the uniform display of consistent talent. As early as the days of William the Conqueror, the Byron family, from whom the subject of the present memoir is descended, appears by the doomsday book to have been one of the most considerable in the kingdom. The immediate ancestor of Admiral Byron, in the reign of Stephen, was lord of Horstone castle; and the grandson of that lord is mentioned among those who contributed to raise the ransom for the deliverance of Richard Cœur de Lion. In the famous expedition of Edward I. to Scotland, during the contest of the Bruces and Baliols for the crown of that kingdom, a direct descendant of the lord of Horstone castle was employed, and the grandson of the same person served in the French wars with Edward III. and was knighted for his bravery at the siege of Calais. Henry V. also knighted the lineal heir of the family; and the Byrons, in the subsequent civil wars, as their principal and most ancient domains lay in the palatinate of Lancaster, naturally attached themselves to the Lancaster faction. Sir John Byron, the head of the house, joined Henry VII. at his landing, and was with him at the battle of Bosworth, where Richard III. was slain. At the marriage of

Arthur, Prince of Wales, he was appointed one of the knights of the bath; and his son, in the year 1540, received from Henry VIII. a grant of the dissolved priory of Newstead in Nottingham county. Thus the Byrons, inheriting nobility in their blood, continued without any other honours than those arising from their territorial possessions, or obtained by their individual merits, till the reign of Charles I. in whose unhappy fortunes they embarked with so much zeal, that the actions of no less than seven brothers, the offspring of the line which we have noticed, are mentioned with great distinction in the history of that time, not only for risking their lives, but for literally sacrificing their fortunes, the accumulated possession of many ages, in the cause of their king. For their zeal and service, John, the eldest brother, field marshal of the western and middle district, was created a baron of the realm; and was subsequently enabled to purchase back part of the ancient estates of his family; but fatuitous causes have prevented the Byrons from recovering their former opulence, and the priory of Newstead, their latest acquisition, has been alienated by the present lord, who, although necessitated to diminish the impaired fortunes of his house, has materially contributed to raise and extend the celebrity of its name, by the productions of a genius for poetry, so impressive and superior, as to rank him, at the early age of twenty-six, among the most distinguished and popular authors of his age and country.

The subject of the present memoirs was John, second son of William, the fourth Lord Byron, by his third wife, Frances, second daughter of William, Lord Berkeley, of Stratton: he was born on the 8th of November, 1723, but the particular age at which he went to sea is not now sufficiently known, even in his family, to enable us to state it. By the regular practice of the service, however,

it is very probable that he had been rated as a midshipman some time before he sailed in Lord Anson's squadron against the Spanish settlements on the western coast of South America, as he was at that period seventeen years old, which is at least three years above the age at which young men of rank, destined to the navy, are entered as midshipmen.

It was the fate of young Byron to be placed on board the unfortunate *Wager*, in the expedition alluded to; and no inconsiderable portion of the attention due to his memoirs arises from the extraordinary incidents connected with the shipwreck of that vessel—incidents which he has himself recorded with a simple, but most impressive pen: indeed, few romances have ever issued from the press with so many affecting and extraordinary adventures, as those which Byron and his companions suffered after the *Wager* separated from Lord Anson's squadron.

It has been already noticed in the life of the commodore, in what manner the criminal absurdity of the ministry necessarily led to the complete failure of the expedition, in a political point of view, and brought upon the unhappy troops and sailors a series of calamities, diseases, and hardships, which for their continuance and severity exceeded every thing previously heard of him in the records of military transactions. It now becomes a no less painful duty, again to revert to the same unpleasant subject, and to describe that share of the general distress which fell to the lot of an individual.

The fatality which had attended the fitting out of the squadron, was not more evident in any circumstance, than in the case of the *Wager*. She was an old Indian-man, and had already been deemed unfit for the purposes of trade, when she was taken into the king's service, and equipped as a man-of-war. This was not all; she was appointed to carry the military and naval stores for the

rest of the squadron; in addition to which, she was crowded with bale goods and merchandize; for it was not enough that the expedition should be ostensibly prepared for military action, but that it should also be made to combine commercial purposes for the benefit of private persons, as if the two things were compatible in the same vessels: besides all this, her crew consisted chiefly of men impressed upon their return from long voyages, unused to the requisite discipline of the naval service, and whose natural discontent was aggravated by the murmurs of a party of that detachment of helpless Chelsea invalids, who, in the infirmity and decrepitude of old age, were sent on this hazardous and ill-fated expedition. So inevitable was the destiny of the *Wager*, that her misfortunes were seen and foretold before any accident had happened to the squadron.

The captain died on the first part of the voyage from England. As she sailed through the straits le Mair, she was nearly wrecked upon the rocks of Saten land. Scarcely had she escaped from this danger, when the roll of a heavy sea broke her chain plates to windward, and threw her mizenmast overboard. A heavy gale succeeded, a wave broke on the ship, and nearly filled her with water. Thus shattered and disabled, she was left alone by the rest of the squadron, and the crew found themselves driving towards a lee shore. What materially added to these misfortunes, was the headstrong disposition of Captain Cheap, who had succeeded to the command. He was a man who received advice as an offence, and who seemed entirely destitute of that elasticity of mind which accommodates itself to circumstances, and which is perhaps more necessary in public employments, than in the affairs of private life.

He determined to adhere to his orders, although the constraint of occurrences set all orders at defiance, and seemed to necessitate such an exercise of discre-

tionary judgment, as should enable him to meet the unexpected difficulties of his situation. Owing to this unfortunate obstinacy, the ship was close upon the land before he became sensible of the impracticability of that obedience, which he had conceived to be so indispensable. But twelve men were fit for duty when he gave orders to alter the ship's course. It was then the evening, the wind blowing a hurricane, the sails tearing from the yards, and the waves raging in dreadful breakers on every side: The orders were given too late: about four o'clock in the morning the ship struck on the rocks, and the sea made a fair breach over her. Every person that could now stir was presently upon the quarter-deck. Terror for awhile gave the energy of health and strength to the sick, and many, who for two months before were unable to leave their hammocks, were seen alert and active. Several poor wretches, in the last stage of the scurvy, unable to crawl, were drowned in their beds.

Of all the pictures of shipwreck which poets have imagined, and unfortunate sailors have described, Byron's narrative of the loss of the *Wager* is perhaps the most awful. It contains examples of human suffering, sustained with a constancy of fortitude, which has no parallel in other authentic biography; and yet, although the incidents almost stagger credibility, they have no marks of the exaggerations of fiction. It is impossible for a young sailor.

“ one of those

“ That in their natures love the dangers more,

“ Than the rewards of danger.”

to read that little work, without feeling the spirit of emulation urging him to the resolution of meeting with equanimity and hope the worst accidents to which his profession can make him liable.

The effect of the occurrences on Byron himself appears to have called into early and premature exercise that patient fortitude for which he was afterwards distinguished in a succession of stormy adventures so remarkable, that his fate seems to have taken its complexion from the loss of the *Wager*, and to have continued so uniformly of the same cast, that it procured him in the navy the familiar epithet of *Foul-weather Jack*. The assurance that the colour of our lives remains the same throughout, and arises from causes over which we have no controul, has unquestionably the effect of tempering the character to a degree of firmness in adversity, and of moderation in prosperity, which can be obtained from no other source : for it is founded on the certainty, that the system of things is governed by a steady providence, and that the only way in which human resolution can produce advantage to the individual is, by keeping, in all circumstances, the passions in due subordination to the judgment. Whether the characteristic firmness of Byron arose from this conviction, cannot now be ascertained ; but he appears at the wreck of the *Wager*, when he was only seventeen years of age, to have possessed, if not an habitual, a constitutional fitness for acting, in cases of extreme danger, with uncommon presence of mind. He describes the incidents, and the impression which they made on several of his companions, with a degree of circumstantiality, which proves that he was more interested in what was passing around him, than with the danger to which he was himself exposed.

He mentions that one man was bereft of his senses, and imagining himself the king of the country on which the ship was foundering, stalked about the deck, flourishing a cutlass, and striking every body he came near, till his companions, to rid themselves of his tyranny, knocked him down. Others became quite insensible, and

were tossed to and fro by the jerks and rolls of the ship, as if they had been inanimate logs. One of the bravest men on board was so dismayed by the horror of the scene, that he was with difficulty prevented from throwing himself overboard. At the same time, there were others who preserved an heroic self-possession, and the man at the helm was an instance of this, beyond almost the highest conceptions of the dignity of human courage. Though both rudder and tiller were gone, he kept his station at the wheel, because he had not been ordered to quit it; and when one of the officers, seeing him there, inquired if the ship would steer, he first took time to make a trial, and answered with as much respect and coolness, as if they had all been in the greatest safety. Being then relieved, he immediately applied himself to his duty elsewhere, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, saying that it did not become him to desert it, as long as the ship held together.

Mr. Jones, the mate, whose services do not rank so high, as to entitle him to a separate memoir in this work, appears to have been a man that merits no small encomium; and it is singular, also, that his life furnishes another instance of that uniformity in the fate of individuals, which has been already alluded to, for he was afterwards wrecked in the Litchfield man-of-war, on the coast of Barbary, an occurrence which, though attended with less subsequent suffering to the survivors, was scarcely less terrible in its incidents than the loss of the Wager. Undismayed by the face of horror, he preserved himself on this occasion not only undaunted, but endeavoured to inspire those around him with the same steadiness. "My friends," said he, "let us not be discouraged: did you never see a ship
"among breakers before? Let us endeavour to push
"through them—come, lend a hand. Here is a sheet,
"and here is a brace—lay hold. I don't doubt but we

“ may cast the ship near enough to the land to save our lives.” His spirit revived those around him, but he confessed often afterwards, that he had not himself the slightest hope.

The ship steering by the sheets and braces towards the shore, providentially stuck fast between two great rocks : the masts were then immediately cut away.

The day now began to dawn, and the weather clearing for a few moments, afforded a glimpse of the land. As the masts were gone, it was difficult to get out the boats, but at last this was accomplished. Byron then went to the captain, and asked him if he would go on shore ; but he answered, that he would be the last to quit the ship.

The crew, from the moment that there was any prospect of saving themselves, became possessed by a riotous exhilaration, as excessive as the despair to which, but a short time before, they had given way : they broke open chests and boxes, and stove in the heads of the casks of wine and brandy, as they were carried up to the hatchways ; and several who had been on their knees, praying for mercy, filled themselves drunk, and were drowned when they might have escaped. While the boats were getting ready, Byron went below, to bring some little matters, if possible, from his chest ; but the ship surged with such violence, and the water came in so fast, that he was obliged to run again upon deck without saving a single rag, except what was upon his back. The boatswain and some of the people resolved not to leave the ship as long as they could get any liquor. Captain Cheap therefore at length allowed himself to be put into the boats.

The prospect on landing seemed to Byron not less dismal than the dangers from which he had just escaped : the land appeared as desolate as the sea, and all which the men had to subsist on was in the wreck, which every

moment appeared to be falling asunder. After reaching the beach, and looking around them for some time, they discovered an Indian hut at a small distance in the woods. As many as possible immediately crowded themselves into it without distinction of rank, while others took shelter under a tree, for the rain began to fall in torrents, and the night closed black and tempestuous. Fear was added to actual misery; they became apprehensive of an attack from the unknown natives, and the gloomy interval, till the dawn of day, was spent in alarm and anxiety.

When the light returned, it was found that a lieutenant of invalids had died in the hut, and that two of those who had taken shelter under the tree were also dead.

They had now, for the most part, fasted eight and forty hours, and all the provisions that could be mustered for about a hundred and forty men, consisted of three or four pounds of biscuit, one sea-gull, which they happened to kill, and a small quantity of wild celery, which they had gathered: with these a kind of soup was made, and distributed.

The spot on which they had landed was a bay, formed by two hilly promontories: the one towards the north was so exceeding steep, that in order to ascend it, for there was no footing round the bottom, they were obliged to cut steps, and they gave it the emphatic name of Mount Misery. The southern promontory was more accessible, and beyond it Byron went with some others in quest of shell fish, but found none. The ensuing night proved tremendously stormy, and the men who had remained on board, apprehensive that the ship would fall asunder, became outrageous for assistance from the shore, without considering how impracticable a thing it was to send any at such a time. In their madness they fired one of the quarter-deck guns, and Byron and his companions within

the hut heard the ball whistle over the roof. Another attempt was made to bring them on shore, but the fury of the sea and the tossing of the wreck of the masts, which lay alongside, rendered it fruitless. In the end, however, it was successful, and the rioters were brought on shore, and deprived of the arms and ammunition with which they had possessed themselves.

A singular picture of the folly and criminality to which man will surrender himself, when he conceives that he is absolved from all restraint, was exhibited in the conduct of these men. Being for the most part, as we have already noticed, unacquainted with the rules and discipline of the navy, they imagined that the loss of the ship exempted them from the authority of the officers, and that they had a natural right, in consequence, to act as they thought proper. With this mad and erroneous notion they committed every sort of extravagance, breaking open the chests and boxes for plunder, which could be of no use to them: they even exercised, in the division of the spoil, a wild and revolutionary justice, by strangling a man who had either disputed their equity, or endeavoured to appropriate more than his allotted share.

For several days after escaping from the wreck, the scene of misery and distress that ensued baffles the ordinary powers of expression, and sickens the imagination with horror, approximating to disgust. Their hunger became so intense, that the common feelings of human nature began to give way to the cravings of a hideous appetite: they saw the bodies of their drowned companions torn open against the rocks, and in one instance a poor boy was with difficulty restrained from devouring the liver of a dead man.

The hopelessness of their situation, and the dismal aspect of the land, engendered a morose and misanthropic spirit: murders were perpetrated without compunction,

and the instigations of necessity punished as crimes. Some vented their discontent in mutinous murmurs; others strayed sullenly away into the woods, without motive and without hope, incited only by the activity of their despair. Byron himself was infected with this moral disease, and retiring from the huts, which by this time had been constructed on the shore, near the wreck, built a habitation for himself, and abstained from all society, but that of a wild dog, which he had met with in the woods, and which had voluntarily attached itself to him; verifying that beautiful fancy of the painter, who has represented the dog as the only animal which remained attached to man, after his expulsion from Paradise, and ordained as the first instance of providential care, to preserve the sense of kindness in the human bosom, when the vices of society should drive the virtuous to solitude, or the workings of misfortune threaten to close the social propensities of the heart. But such was the pressure of famine, that Byron was not long allowed to enjoy the silent fellowship of his voluntary companion;—a party of the men came to the hut, and obliged him to give them the dog, which they immediately killed. So great at the time, was his own hunger, that although he felt the loss of the poor animal, as the death of a friend, he was glad to partake of the meal with the sailors.

One day while the people were busy endeavouring to get the long boat out of the wreck, three canoes of Indians came paddling towards them, but they were with difficulty enticed to approach, and their surprise and wonder at the appearance of the Englishmen were evidently so great, that they could not before have ever seen any white people. Their dress and manners were to a primitive degree simple, but they strongly possessed the instinctive benevolence of the human species; and notwithstanding their own penurious ideas of comfort, seem to have been struck with the great distress of the Europeans, for soon

after they went away and returned in the course of two days with three sheep. After a third visit they came to the number of fifty persons, wives and children included, in order to settle among the English; but some of the seamen having attempted to seduce their wives, they suddenly departed, taking away every thing which they had brought for the planting of their colony. It appears remarkable that none of the Wager's crew thought at this time of rendering the Indians subservient to the means of escape, although it had been ascertained that they were on an island, and that the sheep must therefore have been brought from some adjacent land; but this incident serves to shew the general infatuation which prevailed.

When the violence of the weather had in some degree abated, and a stock of provisions had been obtained from the wreck, the survivors made preparations for their departure in the boats. But as they were on the point of embarking, it was found that the little stock which they had, in the midst of such dreadful privations preserved for the voyage, had been secretly plundered. The thieves were discovered, and two of them, after being whipped, escaped to the woods, where they doubtless perished; but the third was seized, and condemned to a terrible death. The extremity of the general misery aggravated the offence, and it seemed requisite, as an example to the rest, that he should suffer a punishment greater than immediate death. He was placed in one of the boats, and rowed in silence to a barren rock, at some distance from the shore, where he was landed, and a small refreshment of provisions being placed near him, a fire was kindled, and he was left to die alone. The dim and dismal expiring of the flame, as seen from the shore, with the conviction of the state of the wretched man, must have afforded one of the most awful incidents which the imagination could contemplate. It is thus, that events often arise in the course of human experience, more extraor-

dinary and affecting than the darkest fictions of the tragic poets.

But in the narrative of these gloomy transactions, circumstances are met with, which, like the memory of pleasures, in the midst of despondency, delight and refresh the mind with better glimpses of the human character, and tend to shew, that although suffering may darken the natural disposition of man, it will sometimes produce an opposite effect, and give rise to the exercise of a cheerful energy, deserving admiration for the nobleness of the conduct which it inspires. Of this kind is the story of four marines, whom, after leaving the bay of Mount Misery, and when one of the boats had been lost, Byron and his companions were obliged to leave behind. These poor fellows made but little objection to their fate. They knew that they were soldiers "whose business is to die," and they submitted to the sacrifice of themselves, with a greatness of courage truly heroic. As the boat rowed away from them, they stood on the beach, and giving three cheers, cried, "God bless the king." The men on board could with difficulty withstand the force of this magnanimity, and when afterwards obliged to return, it was resolved, though there was madness in the proposition, to take the marines again on board. But no trace of them remained, except a musket lying on the shore. They were gone to explore their fate through the labyrinths of unknown woods, which they could only hope would speedily lead to that undiscovered country from whence no traveller returns.

The impression which the different incidents attending the fatal shipwreck of the *Wager*, appears to have made on the mind of young Byron, is so distinct and exact, that he must have been but slightly agitated during the whole of his sufferings; and yet throughout he shews, by the warmth of occasional expressions, that his fortitude did not depend on that obduracy of character, which can

claim no merit for its patience in adversity, or equanimity in prosperity. The unfortunate have no title to respect if they are insensible to their condition; nor is there any evil in misfortunes, if we are not awakened to the consequences which they entail. The mind of Byron was constituted to endure much, and the self possession which he evinced amidst the miseries of his companions, was as decidedly displayed, when in the course of his adventures he was placed in a situation as trying as that of the marines; and scarcely less terrific, than that of the criminal who perished on the rock.

The survivors of the wreck were now reduced to a small number, and all in one boat. As they rowed along the coast, their spirits were often exhausted to the lowest degree of despondency. They came to a steep headland which they attempted to double, but the sea rolled in with a height and violence, exceeding every thing that Byron had yet witnessed. Every heart was touched with despair. The men suspended their oars, and the boat heaved and borne by the mountainous waves, was nearly precipitated among the breakers, that burst in tremendous cataracts against the cliffs. For some time no one spoke. It seemed for a moment that all on board had come simultaneously to the resolution of putting an end at once to their misery. The captain at last said, that they must either perish or pull stoutly, but they might do as they pleased. It is almost impossible to imagine a situation more awful than that in which a number of men may, by exerting themselves, escape from danger, and yet the certainty of drowning being thought an alternative likely to be preferred. But it is the moral of this sketch to teach the value of fortitude, and that even the perplexity of the most dismal occurrence, arises from little more than a temporary eclipse of hope.

At the end of two months, after their departure from the bay of Mount Misery, Byron and his companions dis-

embarked on the spot where they first escaped from the Wager. Their condition, at this time, can only be conceived, by adding to the common distress of men just saved from shipwreck, the effects of that terrible catalogue of sufferings which they had endured from the period of their first landing. At the loss of the ship, a hundred and forty men had been saved. At the return of the boat to the point, from which two months before she had taken her departure, only sixteen survived. Their provisions were entirely consumed, and that last and horrible resource of the starving, began to suggest itself to their minds, and low and fearful whispers, uttered with looks that expressed more than the lips ventured to speak; indicated that the time was come when they must cast lots to decide who should be first killed.

From this hideous expedient for protracting existence, they were fortunately preserved.

On examining their huts, the door of one of them was found nailed, and on breaking it open, a quantity of old iron, that had been collected from the wreck, was found in the inside. This convinced them that the iron was placed there to be preserved, and soon after a party of Indians, with two canoes, came into the bay. One of them spoke an imperfect dialect of Spanish, and they persuaded him to undertake to conduct them to one of the Spanish settlements, which he agreed to do, and once more they bade adieu to the bay of Mount Misery.

In the course of two days, they came to the mouth of a strong flowing river, where one of the sailors, dropping from the oar, died, and Byron, who had hitherto steered the boat, was obliged to take his place. Another man also, as they attempted to stem the current of this heart-breaking stream, fell from his seat, complaining that his strength was quite exhausted for want of food. As he lay in this condition, he every now and then entreated for a little sustenance in the most pathetic manner, ex-

claiming that two mouthfuls would save his life; but all were so familiarized to misery, that no one offered him a morsel, except Byron, who, although he had but five or six dried shell fish in his pocket, put one from time to time in his mouth: this little supply, however, soon failed, and the poor fellow was released from his suffering by death.

After a vain attempt to ascend the river, they landed on the coast to search for a little food. On returning, six of the men, with the Indians, having advanced a few paces before, the officers got into the boat first, and pushed off, leaving Byron and the rest on the shore. But this last distress, or as it was thought at the moment, this perfecting of their misery, was one of those instances of apparent evil, by which providence brings about the most unexpected good. It would have been impossible for them to have carried the boat over the shallows and points of land, as the Indians did their canoes, and they must have been consumed by labor before they could have doubled the capes on that stormy coast, and to ascend against the current of the river was impossible. Still at the time the treachery of the men was felt with aggrivated distress. Byron, almost partaking of the despair with which it affected his companions, walked along the surfy beach, looking towards the sea, without the comfort of any hope, when he descried something black approaching, and to his indscribable pleasure, discovered that it was a canoe. He ran back to his companions, and acquainted them with what he saw: but they were so sunk in despondency, that it was some time before they gave any attention to the news. In the end, however, being convinced of the truth, they stripped themselves of their rags to make a signal to the canoe, which happily succeeded.

After encountering several adventures in an excursion in quest of other Indians to assist them, Byron about the middle of March embarked with his companions from the

place where the men had so treacherously ran away with the boat. Proceeding westward they came to a great river which they paddled up, for several leagues, till they came to a carrying place, where they disembarked on a swampy bank, and unloading the canoes, took them asunder, and distributing a part to every one of the company, marched along the side of the river. Byron had for his burden, a wet heavy canvas, in which was a piece of seal's flesh, belonging to the captain. Their way lay through thick woods, and the bottom of the path was a mere quagmire. Poor Byron oppressed by his burden, which would have been sufficient for a stout man, often plunged suddenly up to the middle, and at other times found his feet torn by the stumps of trees, and shrubs, concealed in the water. Before he had got half a mile, the weight of his load, and the wounds in his feet occasioned him to fall so far behind, that he found himself alone. In endeavouring to get again up with his companions, he tumbled over the trunk of a tree that lay across the road, and was almost suffocated in the mire, before he could extricate himself. Quite exhausted when he was again able to stand, he felt his confidence desert him, and he sat down under a tree, giving vent to the most painful and melancholy thoughts. He was now alone in the wilds of an unknown American forest. A terrible train of disasters had made him the witness of continual sufferings, which seemed uniformly to terminate in the death of his companions, one by one. In such a situation the heart feels as it were condensed into something physically hard, and the mind wondering at the purpose of its creation, grows wildly disposed to accuse the Almighty of criminality in making it subject to such misery. But in a moment this terrific and blasphemous passion gives way to an accute sorrow;—and the images of home:—of friends dead, or faithless; the remembrance of grateful intentions repaid with insults; and of the patient

endurance of wrong, regarded as an offence by those who injured, mingling with the wreck of all those fond and alluring expectations that once constituted the charm of youth and the motives of glory, rise in tumultuous emotions to the voice and eyes, and find a vent in bursting sobs, and a gush of tears. It is in a crisis and paroxysm of this kind, that the weak commit suicide, and the brave acquire the mastery of their fate, and are enabled ever after to regard the good of life as of little value, and the ill as deprived of much of its power to harm.

Byron indulged his grief for a short time, but growing sensible that it could answer no end, he rose, and having deposited his burden, endeavoured to regain his companions. He found them, after some hours had been spent in the pursuit, seated in silence under a tree, near the banks of a large lake. Without speaking, he sat down beside them. Captain Cheap observing him, enquired what he had done with the piece of seal? Hitherto we have passed, without much animadversion, the conduct of this selfish and headstrong man; because, whatever was the cruelty with which he had treated others, Byron had no great personal cause of complaint against him; but, on this occasion, he was destined to endure a share of the tyrant's senseless disregard of circumstances. Feeble, exhausted, and torn in the feet, as he had joined the forlorn group, he was obliged to return back five miles to the spot where he had left his burden; and did not regain his companions till they were on the point of embarking on the lake. He expected to go with them, but he was ordered to remain behind, until some other Indians should arrive. What Indians, and where they were to come from, he knew not; even the piece of seal, which had occasioned him so much trouble, was taken from him; and, thus alone, he was left like the four unhappy marines on the beach, looking at his companions rowing away. He kept his eyes on the canoe, as long as the light per-

mitted him to distinguish it; and when he saw it no longer, he returned into the woods, and stretching himself on the ground, soon after fell asleep.

He awoke before the dawn of day, and hearing the sound of human voices, approached towards a wigwam, from which it proceeded, and attempted to enter, but was repulsed with kicks in the face. He then retired to some distance, and waited till an old woman peeped out, and made signs for him to draw near:—he obeyed, and being now invited, entered the hut, in which he found three men and two women; one of the women gave him a bit of seal's flesh, which proved a most welcome repast.

With these Indians, he embarked in a canoe, and was rowed across the lake to the mouth of a very rapid river, the outlet of the waters, where they went on shore for the night. The Indians constructed a wigwam for themselves, but did not permit Byron to enter, nor gave him any thing to eat. In the morning they embarked again, and were carried down the current at an amazing rate. About sun set they again put on shore, on a stony beach. The Indians having hauled up the canoe, went away into the woods, and left Byron again alone. It rained violently, and the night was very dark. He lay down on the beach, and his strength being exhausted, he fell asleep. In the course of three or four hours after, he awoke with the cramp to such a degree, that he thought he must have died on the spot. He attempted several times to raise himself upon his legs, but could not. At last he made a shift to crawl towards a great fire, which he saw at some distance in the woods. In his agony, when he reached the fire, he almost threw himself into it, in the hope of finding some relief. This intrusion gave great offence to the Indians seated around, and they got up instantly, and, with kicking and beating, drove him away. He, however, afterwards approached with more diffidence, and contrived to place himself so as to receive

some warmth from the fire, by which he got rid of the cramp. In the morning, they all again embarked, and being now at sea, proceeded northward along the coast. At low water they landed to gather shell fish. Byron, though at this time almost famished, was so intent to lay in a stock, that he did not attempt to eat one. Having filled his hat, and observing the Indians returning towards the canoe, he hastened on board again, and seating himself by the oar, ate every now and then a limpet, and threw the shells overboard. The Indians observing this, rose in a rage, seized him by the throat and legs, and were going to throw him overboard, when the women interfered. He was ignorant of the offence he had given, till he observed that the Indians, after eating the limpets, carefully put the shells in a heap in the bottom of the canoe. He then concluded that they had some superstitious notion about throwing the shells into the sea, and he was confirmed in the opinion, when the Indians afterwards landing, brought all their shells on shore, and laid them above the high water mark. This little incident affords a curious insight of the effect of superstitious opinions on the human heart; and how much things in themselves, neither of value nor of influence, may acquire the greatest importance in the esteem of mankind. One of the same Indians, who threatened to drown him for throwing away the shells, observing him with a bunch of berries which he had gathered, snatched them out of his hand, and threw them away, making him to understand that they were poisonous.

In two days after, Byron joined Captain Cheap, Mr Campbell, and Mr. Hamilton. These four were now all that then appeared to have survived the wreck of the *Wager*, out of the one hundred and forty men who had reached the shore.

Embarking together with the Indians, they proceeded to Chiloe, and reached an island, where they were re-

ceived with great hospitality by the native inhabitants, who indeed seemed to be creatures of a far better nature than the Spaniards, into whose hands they afterwards fell. There appeared no limit to their kindness; they spread skins for their beds, killed a sheep, made them broth, and baked bread for them, luxuries of which they had long been deprived. This was at night: in the morning, the Indian women having received some report of their sufferings from the Indian guide, whom we have mentioned as speaking a little Spanish, came from far and near, bringing them presents of provisions. In the evening, the men also brought them a kind of ale, which refreshed and invigorated their spirits, and sent a messenger to the Spanish magistrate at Castro, a town at a considerable distance, to inform him of their arrival.

At the end of three days the messenger returned, with an order to the Indians to conduct them directly to a certain place, where a party of soldiers would be ready to receive them. The hospitable Indians were now in great concern, when they heard of this proposition to make them prisoners, and would, if they could, then have detained or concealed them.

They were again embarked, and conducted to the place which the Spanish magistrate had appointed, where all sorts of people came to look at them; but the compassionate Indian women never came empty handed. From this place they were conducted to Castro, and lodged in the jesuits' convent, from whence they were taken to Chaco. At Chaco they were put on board a ship, and carried to Valparaiso, where they were immediately committed to a dungeon by the Spanish governor. The curiosity of the people was such, that the prison was continually full from morning to night, by which the centinels made a deal of money, as they took care to be paid for the show. Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton were, in the course of a few days, ordered up to St. Jago; but

Mr. Campbell and Byron were left in prison, and treated with so much rigour by the governor, that the people were shocked at the miserable pittance allowed for their support. The conduct, however, of a private soldier affords a delightful contrast to the inhumanity of the governor: this good man, though he had a wife and six children, and never could hope to receive the least recompense, gave them all he could spare from his own family, and would not accept any part of the money which even the mule drivers and peasants, who came to look at them, often compassionately bestowed. Two years after, Byron had the happiness of making some return to the poor soldier for his generosity and kindness.

When Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton had been some time at St. Jago, orders came to send Byron and Campbell there also. The governor, in consequence, gave them in custody to one of the master mule drivers, who carried merchandise from the coast to that city. Byron had naturally the agreeable quality of recommending himself to the kindness of strangers, and on this occasion it had the effect of procuring him the friendship of the muleteer, who seems to have been an honest simple-hearted man. He advised him not to think of remaining in St. Jago, where he said there was nothing but extravagance, vice, and folly, but to continue with the mule drivers, whom he represented as leading an innocent and happy life, far preferable to any which a great town can afford.

At St. Jago the Spanish character appeared to some advantage, and the treatment of the prisoners was not unworthy of the high pretensions to generosity which is made by that nation, but rarely realised in the experience of their friends. This was partly owing to the disposition of individuals, but in a greater degree to an emulation excited by the civility with which Anson had treated

the Spanish prisoners who had fallen into his hands: many of them were at St. Jago, and all spoke in the highest terms of the hospitality which they had received.

Byron remained at St. Jago about two years. On the 20th of December, 1744, he embarked with Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton on board a frigate for France, and after a long and dangerous passage, in which, however, no remarkable accident occurred, on the 31st of October, in the year following, they arrived in Brest harbour. Being soon after released, by an order from the court of Spain, they embarked in a Dutch dogger, that was to land them in England. In the Channel they met with the Squirrel man-of-war, and her cutter took them out of the dogger, and landed them at Dover. Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton proceeded in a post-chaise to London, and Byron on horseback: his money was so much reduced by the time he approached the metropolis, that he was obliged to ride through the toll bars without paying; and when he reached the Earl of Carlisle's house in Soho Square, the porter was reluctant to allow him to enter. The surprise and joy with which he was received by the countess his sister, may easily be conceived.

Two years after his return to England, he was promoted to the rank of post-captain; but it does not appear that he was particularly employed till the year 1757, when he was appointed to the command of the *America*, of sixty guns, and sailed under Admiral Hawke, in the large fleet, which in the autumn of that year went to the coast of France. The transactions of the expedition have been recorded in the naval history of that time, and therefore, as Byron had no particular share in the operations, it is unnecessary to notice them farther.

In the spring of 1760, Captain Byron was employed in the squadron which co-operated with the army

in so distinguished a manner at the conquest of Canada; and he had the good fortune to render an important service to his country, by frustrating the last attempt of the French to recover the possession of Quebec.

King George III. on his accession to the throne, formed a design of sending vessels to make discoveries in the South Seas, and soon after the peace of 1763, he gave orders to carry his design into execution. For this purpose, the *Dolphin* and *Tamur* men-of-war were equipped for the voyage, and Captain Byron was appointed commander of the expedition.

On the 3d of July, 1764, he sailed from Plymouth, and on the 13th of September he arrived at Rio de Janeiro, without meeting with any remarkable incident. After leaving that port, as he was sailing towards the straits of Magellan, which he had been ordered to explore, so as to ascertain how far they were capable of facilitating the passage to the great Pacific ocean, he met one day with a most remarkable instance of that illusive phenomenon, to which the sailors have given the expressive name of *cape fly-away*. All the people on the fore-castle called out at once—"Land right ahead!" and the commodore looking forward, saw what appeared to be an island rising in two craggy hills, with a long extent of low land adjoining, although, by the ship's reckoning, he had no reason to expect any such appearance. Officers were sent to the mast head, to look out upon the weather beam, and they also declared that they saw the land a great way to windward. The ship was immediately brought to, and upon sounding, it was found that she had fifty-two fathom water: it was therefore apprehended that she might be embayed on this unknown coast, and the commodore ordered her course to be altered, concluding that he was nearer the American shore than he had any reason to believe. As they sailed along this

unexpected land, the sailors thought that they saw the waves breaking on the sandy beach, and the hills seemed to them exactly like the blue and distant appearance of a highland country in rainy weather; but after contemplating the scene for upwards of an hour, the whole phenomenon, to the astonishment of every one on board, suddenly vanished.

On the following day, Byron mentions that they met with another incident common enough in the southern ocean, but rarely experienced to the same degree of violence on the northern side of the tropics. The weather was extremely fine, when the wind all at once shifted to the south west, and the sky to windward became pitch-black. The people on deck were alarmed with an unusual noise, like the breaking of the sea on a lee shore, and vast billows, covered with foam, were seen rolling towards the ship, while flocks of birds, flying and screaming, as if pursued by something terrible, flew over their heads. The commodore immediately ordered the topsails to be handed, but before this could be done, the gust seized the ship, and laid her on her beam ends, from which she was with difficulty recovered.

After these occurrences, they met with nothing remarkable till they reached the coast of Patagonia, where the ships came to anchor, in a bay near the entrance of the straits of Magellan. Commodore Byron, on looking to the land with his glass, saw a number of horsemen riding backwards and forwards, directly abreast of the ship, and waving something white as an invitation to come on shore. Surprised by this appearance, and desirous of knowing what these people were, he ordered out his twelve-oared barge, and went towards the beach with two of his officers and a party of men, well armed: his first lieutenant followed in the six-oared cutter. When they approached towards the shore, they saw about five hundred persons assembled on a spot of land, that ran a considerable way

into the sea : some were on horseback, but the greatest number on foot. The commodore waved to them to retire to a little distance, and they immediately obeyed. He then landed, and went forward alone : the Indians continued to retire as he advanced. He made signs for one of them to come near, and a chief approached, of such uncommon stature and vigour of form, that he seemed to realise the descriptions of giants. He wore the skin of a wild beast, thrown over his shoulders, like a plaid. Round one of his eyes was a large circle of white, a circle of black surrounded the other, and the rest of his face was streaked with different colours. Byron thought that he could not be much under seven feet in height, and he differed from Europeans, in being proportionally muscular ; for generally among us, those who exceed the common race of men appear to be run up accidentally to an unusual height, without a greater breadth of foundation, or more athletic materials.

After muttering something reciprocally as a salutation, the commodore walked forwards with this savage colossus towards the rest of the Indians, who all appeared to be scarcely inferior to their gigantic chief. They were, however, very gentle-hearted giants, and seemed greatly pleased and delighted with the toys which the little Englishman distributed among them as a conciliatory offering. Four or five of the chieftains then came up to him, and made signs for him to mount one of their horses, and go with them to their habitations, which by their pointing he conceived were in the interior of the country : but he could not accept of their hospitality. It is to be regretted that he did not feel himself justified in leaving the ship, as he might have acquired some satisfactory information respecting a race of people so surprising ; especially as they appeared to be exceedingly docile, and to have been actuated towards him by feelings of tenderness and kind-

ness—a sort of nurselike disposition, the reverse of that awe and astonishment with which their gigantic magnitude inspired him.

It would hardly be imagined that this adventure should have given rise to imputations affecting the veracity of the commodore, especially as he was not the first who had seen these extraordinary Indians: but his description of their faces, and the style of their dress, seems to have frightened the fancies of the critics, who, without attending to the facts of his narrative, appear to have given way to their own fictitious conceptions. They made no scruple, in their own self-created delusion, of taxing him with having asserted what was not only false, but improbable; forgetting that probability is measured by knowledge, and that science and experience often demonstrate truths, which ignorance would not credit. Byron himself never condescended to appeal to the other witnesses against the rash and libellous charges of the critics, but treated them with silent contempt, a course of conduct that must have been the more galling, as he knew what he had stated to be true, and was convinced that his statements would in time be confirmed; which was the case, by the publication of the account of Captain Wallis's voyage, in which it appeared that he also met with the same race of Indians, and actually measured a chief, whom he found to be six feet seven inches in height, and of a bulk in due proportion. In his account, the good-natured docility of the Patagonians was also confirmed, with the additional circumstance, that they appeared to be apt and intelligent.

The brunt of the ridicule, on account of these gigantic creatures, has been sustained by Commodore Byron without the slightest reason. The traditions of the Peruvians contain corroborative rumours of their existence, and in Paraguay bones are said to have been found, which con-

firm the rumours of tradition. Besides, the evidence is, in other respects, such as we cannot call in question.

Among the Spaniards who preceded Byron to this part of the world, and who appear to have been also witnesses of the gigantic race of Patagonia, Magellan, Loaisa, Sarmiento, and Nodal may be mentioned. Among the English, Cavendish, Hawkins, and Knivet. Among the Dutch, Lebold, De Noort, Le Maire, and Spilberg; and among the French are several others, but the descriptions of that people, from their exaggerating disposition, are so little to be depended on, that in a case of this kind it might perhaps be proper to reject their testimony altogether. In the common laws of moral evidence, we cannot call in question the statements of these great navigators relative to this point, without also objecting to their testimony on other subjects. Those who have visited Patagonia, and have not mentioned the gigantic race, surely should not be regarded as witnesses against their existence, but only as negative in the question; and those who, by having seen only a race of the ordinary stature of mankind, are considered as contradicting witnesses, ought only to be held as proving that there are men of the common standard in the country, as well as the others. The existence of two separate things is not rendered questionable by demonstrating the existence of one of them. It does not follow, that because there is a race of the ordinary size in Patagonia, that those who have stated that there is also another and an extraordinary, ought to be disbelieved; especially if different persons, of undoubted veracity in other respects, have at different times, and in different ages, declared themselves convinced of the fact by ocular demonstration. But independent of the personal testimony which comes in support of Commodore Byron's assertions, there is a strong reason, deducible from analogy, for the existence of the gigantic Patagonians: and certainly, there is nothing

improbable in the case, at least, both in the old and new world there are traditions in favour of a race of giants having existed; and that such may be true, we have the evidence of individual specimens in our own age and country, to induce us, if not to credit tradition, sufficient to deter us from refusing to believe it altogether. Nature, in shewing us daily how much cattle of the same species vary in different counties, teaches us not to reject as improbable the assertion of a similar difference in the race of man. The utmost alleged magnitude of the Patagonians does not exceed the ordinary stature of Europeans so much, as the cattle reared on the rich pastures of England exceed those on the mountains of Scotland. Nor is the difference between the size of the Patagonians and Europeans half so wonderful, as the difference of complexion between an Englishman and a negro. Besides considerations of this kind, there is a circumstance which has not hitherto been before noticed on this question: through all that part of South America, south of the river Plate, the animals of the same kind that are common in Europe, are of an extraordinary great size: hares have been killed upwards of twenty-six pounds weight, and eagles have been shot on the coast, and their skins brought to London, measuring no less than twelve feet from the extremity of one wing to that of the other. If, therefore, these facts deserve credit, it may be justly asked, why the testimony of ocular witnesses to a corresponding difference in the size of the human race, should not also be credited. But independent of all this, the gigantic Patagonians have both a local habitation and a name: their country lies south of the river Plate, and is called Coin; and they themselves are known among the other natives by the name of Tiremen. Still, perhaps, it may be said, that this people are not half so wonderful as the dispute about their existence has led us to suppose; for those seen by Byron do not appear greatly to

have exceeded the common stature of the life-guards in London. The tallest of them did not rise to the height of seven feet; and it seems certain, that if there had not been much more extraordinary rumours afloat upon the subject, that his veracity respecting them would never have been called in question.

Having left the coast of Patagonia, the commodore entered the straits of Magellan, not, however, with the view of then passing, but to procure a supply of wood and water prior to exploring the coast of the Falkland islands. He describes the northern shore of the straits at this season, as exhibiting one of the most beautiful countries he had ever beheld. The soil had all the appearance of being richly fertile; the ground was covered with flowers of delightful fragrance, and the shrubs that had shed their blossoms were clustered with berries: the grass also seemed to be excellent, and thickly interspersed with pease, in bloom and bearing. Among this luxuriant herbage, hundreds of birds of uncommon beauty were seen feeding, and the supply of delicious water was as plentiful as the abundance of the earth; but no convenient landing place was found, and he was obliged to proceed to Port Famine. Here he again landed, and afterwards rowed several miles up the river Sedger, on the banks of which he saw admirable timber for masts, and such a quantity of game, that those who gave the name of famine to the port must have visited it at another season, when the interdict of winter was on the vegetation, and the frost had withered the face of the country.

Having completed the wooding and watering of the ships, he returned out of the straits, to explore the coasts of the Falkland islands. Having finished this service, he proceeded again towards the straits of Magellan, through which he passed without meeting with any remarkable adventure: but one of his officers, who had been sent on

shore to examine the country round Cape Upright, fell in with several Indians, who gave him a dog; a woman also offered him a child, which was sucking at her breast. Savages are rarely affected with playful humour, or it might have been thought that this singular instance of the want of affection was only a jocular offer. All savages in proportion to the degree of their barbarity, have been uniformly found to possess less affection than civilised mankind: the virtues which are found combined with simple manners, are as little esteemed in a barbarous as a corrupted state of society. Poverty is the mother of crimes; and it would be as contrary to nature to find mankind in a state of privation and penury, such as characterise the savage state, practising those disinterested actions which alone are virtuous, as it would be strange to see men in affluence, and with a superfluity of the means of enjoyment, committing those actions to obtain the necessities of life, which savages make no scruple of practising. The incident of the woman offering her child to the officer, is an impressive fact in the history of man, as it serves to shew how much the improvement of his reason is necessary to the strengthening of his moral instincts. There is no animal conscious of possessing the power of injuring, that would consent to be deprived of its young, without making some resistance. There is no animal but the human savage, that murders its young, merely to get rid of the trouble of keeping them, or destroys the old for the same reason.

After clearing the straits of Magellan, Commodore Byron steered for Masafuero, where he anchored. He afterwards proceeded to the fourteenth degree of southern latitude, and in longitude 144° west, discovered a cluster of small islands, which he named the isles of Disappointment. This discovery affords a remarkable instance of the effect of good or bad luck in the success of individuals. It might have occurred to Commodore Byron, that these

points and peaks of land placed thus, as it were, midway in the ocean between America and Asia, might, probably, be connected with other islands of greater extent. The more adventurous Cooke found, in the neighbourhood of Byron's isles of Disappointment, the numerous Archipelago of the Society islands; and in Otaheite, the most civilized aboriginal race that has been discovered since the days of Columbus.

This fact serves to shew that every enterprise which proceeds on expectation, should be formed on some previous hypothetical knowledge. The genius of Byron had no speculative bias. In patience, fortitude, and intrepidity, he was in no respect inferior to Captain Cooke; but he was not gifted like him with that prophetic conviction of the existence of undiscovered things which gave to his attempts a systematic consistency of procedure, and led him through the most remote and unexplored tracts of the ocean, with a degree of confidence that can only be compared to the faith with which the ordinary seaman prosecutes a well known and prescribed voyage.

In confirmation of the justness of what is alleged of the inferiority of this gallant officer's genius for discovery, it may be mentioned, that on the afternoon of the day following his departure from the islands of Disappointment, he fell in with other inhabited lands, he even saw a village on the coast and many hundreds of the inhabitants prepared to defend their country; yet, notwithstanding these striking circumstances, he does not appear to have been actuated by any curiosity to explore them: on the contrary, he doubted the existence altogether of the Archipelago, which had been laid down in the maps by the name of Solomon's islands, although allowing for an erroneous reckoning in the first observers, those, to which he gave the name of King George's isles, probably belonging to it. What renders this apathy of Commodore

Byron the more remarkable, is, that although he judged by the swell of the sea, and by the flocks of birds which he observed in the evening flying southward, that there must be land in that direction, and states, in the journal of his voyage, that he could only account for the islands of Disappointment and King George being peopled, by supposing that there was a chain of islots reaching towards a continent, he made no attempt to discover it, assigning, as a reason, that the sickness of his men was an insuperable impediment. This, however, was the very reason which ought to have induced him to endeavour to make his way towards the nearest land; and the probability from the signs which he noticed was, that the undiscovered land was nearer than either Asia or America. We dwell on this the more pointedly, as it affords an impressive lesson to those who, sensible of the indexes of things, yet, by giving way to impatience, or without discriminating the difference between temporary casualties and consequential occurrences, lose the opportunity of acquiring either fame or fortune.

Byron returned to England in little more than a year and ten months from the date of his departure; in the course of which, though sent on a voyage of discovery, it cannot be justly said that he added any thing to the knowledge of the European society. And yet, in all the ordinary qualities of an officer, he appears in no respect inferior to the greatest navigators. By the loss of the *Wager* it was his fortune to acquire some knowledge of savage life, and he was placed in a situation which enabled him to learn what kind of behaviour was most likely to conciliate barbarians. But this circumstance which might have been thought to qualify him for commanding an expedition of discovery, had an opposite effect. The sullen and inhospitable Indians whom he fell in with after his escape from the *Wager*, appear to have left an impression on his mind averse to the cultivation of any inter-

course with savages. In nautical as well as every other kind of enterprise, the character as well as the experience of the manager ought to be considered. Character is, perhaps, more essential than experience; for as in the case before us, there are minds so constituted that experience has the effect of marring the advantages of opportunity, and of producing a bias which renders nugatory the talents and qualities essential to the endowments of a leader.

In 1776, Commodore Byron was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in 1778, to vice-admiral of the same flag. Soon after, he was appointed to the command of a large squadron requisite to reinforce the fleet at that time on the coast of America, Count D'Estaing having sailed from Toulon, with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and transports laden with stores, to aid the American rebels. Government was justly blamed on this occasion, for the tardiness with which the equipment of Byron's squadron was conducted; and when he put to sea, he had the misfortune again to encounter his adverse destiny in the weather. He sailed on the 5th of June, and worked out the Channel, although the wind blew strong from the southward. On the 3d of July, in latitude $49^{\circ} 48'$ north, and $26^{\circ} 48'$ west, a violent storm arose and dispersed the squadron. Trying as this event was to the admiral, it was yet still less than the mortification which awaited him on the American coast, which he did not reach till the middle of August. In attempting to get into Sandy Hook, he discovered D'Estaing's fleet at anchor, about eight miles distant to leeward, and was, in consequence, to save his ship, which bore his flag, constrained to bear away for Halifax, where he arrived on the 26th of August, and found one of his squadron there before him. The rest afterwards came dropping in, one by one, with sickly crews and damaged rigging.

Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the little control which a man has over the circumstances in which he is necessitated to act, than the memoirs of Admiral Byron. The wind and waves were the most formidable enemies that he ever met with, and such was the uniform hostility with which they appeared to wage against him, that they seemed, if the expression may be allowed, jealous lest the enemies of his country should share in the attempt of subduing the fortitude of his character. The grand lesson which his life affords, does not consist in examples of that sagacity by which victories are achieved, and new rules given to naval science, but in the perseverance with which he contended against what might be deemed the malice of fortune, in preventing him from the attainment of the object of his profession,—heroic renown. On this occasion he had sailed from England, with a squadron which, if not equal to that of D'Estaing's, was such as would have justified him to engage the enemy, with a sanguine hope of victory. Before, however, he had made half his passage, his squadron was totally dispersed; but still going on with his ship to her destination; he reached the point for which he had sailed: he saw the enemy there, and that if his fleet had been enabled to keep together, a certain prospect that he should have been able to have performed a public service that would have entitled him to the gratitude of his country; but he was alone; he was in no condition to fight; on the contrary, the discovery of the enemy was the signal for him to fly. It is not easy to conceive a situation more calculated to corrode a gallant spirit; but Byron had been nurtured in adversity, educated by calamity, and disciplined by disappointment; and the mortification of his feelings on this occasion, may have shaken, but it did not impair the equanimity of his character.

From the American station, he was ordered to the West Indies, where he joined Admiral Barrington on the

6th of January, 1779, with nine sail of the line, at St. Lucia, which had surrendered to that officer. In this station, when, about the middle of June, a considerable fleet of merchantmen having assembled at St. Christopher's, as D'Estaing was also at the same time in these seas, he undertook to convoy this fleet to a Dutch latitude with his whole squadron. The details, however, of his transactions in the West Indies, as written by himself to the Admiralty, are at once so perspicuous and concise; that it would be improper to give them in any other form than his own words. We are indeed induced to do this the more particularly, as they have not been noticed with so much circumstantiality in the naval history of the time as they ought to have been; and by an inadvertance, not easily accounted for, the principal event is so represented as to appear in a great degree, as if Admiral Barrington had been the commander-in-chief in the engagement with D'Estaing. It is detracting nothing from the merits and fame of that great officer, to restore to Admiral Byron his proper share of the business, and to prevent what was probably an error of the author's pen, from obtaining the consequence of an historical fact. Mr. Yorke wrote under the infirmities of his last sickness, and the chapter in which this mistake is to be found, underwent no revision nor collation with the materials.

“ Princess Royal at sea, 8th July.

“ I sailed from St. Christopher's on the 15th of last month; at the same time the trade left it for Europe, and proceeded to windward of the islands for protection of the convoy, intending to call at Barbadoes in my way to St. Lucia; but a strong lee current, with the wind at east, retarded our progress so much, that it was the 30th of June before the squadron could weather the island of Martinico. This induced me to proceed directly to St. Lucia, where I arrived next morning, and

“ learnt that the French had possessed themselves of the
“ island of St. Vincent’s, with a very small force, and
“ without opposition. Upon a conference with Major-
“ general Grant, it was determined to attempt the re-
“ taking of St. Vincent’s; for which purpose the troops
“ were ordered to be embarked immediately on board the
“ transports, and every thing got in readiness without a
“ moment’s loss of time. But intelligence being received
“ of a fleet seen that morning to leeward, steering a
“ course for Grenada, I wrote to Lord Macartney by one
“ of his aids-de-camp, who happened to be at St. Lucia,
“ to give his lordship notice of our motions, and that
“ troops and the squadron would immediately come to his
“ relief, if, at St. Vincent’s, or on the passage thither,
“ we should learn that Grenada was attacked. I likewise
“ sent an officer in a fast sailing schooner to look into
“ Fort Royal bay, where he saw thirteen large ships,
“ which he supposed men-of-war, more especially as one
“ of them bore a flag at the foretop gallantmast head; but
“ a frigate and other small craft giving him chace, he was
“ prevented from going so near as he intended.
“ The line of battle, to be transmitted herewith, will
“ shew, that the squadron under my command consisted
“ of twenty-one ships and a frigate. With these and the
“ transports I sailed from St. Lucia on Saturday, the 3d,
“ and next afternoon had intelligence from St. Vincent’s,
“ of more than thirty sail of French men-of-war and
“ armed ships having passed there on Thursday, and
“ among them appeared to be upwards of twenty ships of
“ the line of battle: it was farther reported, that Mons.
“ de la Motte Piquet had joined Count D’Estaing about
“ a week before, with a strong reinforcement. Upon this
“ information, the signal was made to bear up for Gre-
“ nada; but it fell calm soon after, and continued so until
“ nine o’clock next morning; about which time, a small
“ schooner that left Grenada on Saturday evening came

“ into the fleet, and the principal person on board her
“ (a merchant) reported, that the French had landed
“ about two thousand five hundred troops near the town
“ of St. George on Friday, made an attack upon the fort
“ that night and were repulsed; that Lord Macartney
“ expected to hold out a fortnight, and that he had seen
“ the enemy’s naval force there, which did not exceed
“ eight ships of the line, besides frigates and armed
“ transports. Another schooner from Grenada joined us
“ soon after, and brought a similar account; only, the
“ master of her, who had been frequently a pilot on board
“ the king’s ships, reported, that the enemy had between
“ fourteen and nineteen ships of the line.

“ It being my intention, from this intelligence, to be
“ off St. George’s bay soon after day break, I drew the
“ ships of war from among the transports, leaving only
“ the Suffolk, Vigilant, and Monmouth, for their pro-
“ tection, under the orders of Rear-admiral Rowley, who
“ was intended to conduct the debarkment of the troops;
“ but he was to join me with these ships if he saw oc-
“ casion for their service.

“ One of the enemy’s frigates was very near us in the
“ night, and gave the alarm of our approach. Soon after
“ day-light on Tuesday, the 6th, the French squadron
“ was seen off St. George’s, most of them at anchor, but
“ getting under weigh, seemingly in great confusion, and
“ with little or no wind. The signal was immediately
“ made for a general chase in that quarter, as well as for
“ Rear-admiral Rowley to leave the convoy; and as not
“ more than fourteen or fifteen of the enemy’s ships ap-
“ peared to be of the line, from the position they were
“ in, the signal was made for the ships to engage, and
“ form as they could get up. In consequence of which,
“ Vice-admiral Barrington in the Prince of Wales, with
“ Captain Sawyer in the Boyne, and Captain Gardiner in
“ the Sultan, being the headmost of the British squadron

“ and carrying a press of sail, were soon fired upon at a
“ great distance, which they did not return till they got
“ considerably nearer : but the enemy getting the breeze
“ of wind about that time, drew out their line from the
“ cluster they were lying in, by bearing away, and form-
“ ing to leeward, on the starboard tack, which shewed
“ their strength to be very different from our Grenada
“ intelligence ; for it was plainly discovered that they had
“ THIRTY-FOUR sail of ships of war, twenty-six or
“ twenty-seven of which were of the line, and many of
“ these appeared of great force : however, the general
“ chase was continued, and the signal made for a close
“ engagement. But our utmost endeavours could not
“ effect that, the enemy industriously avoiding it, by
“ always bearing up when our ships got near them ; and
“ I was sorry to observe that their superiority over us in
“ sailing gave them the option of distance, which they
“ availed themselves of, so as to prevent our rear from
“ ever getting into action ; and being to leeward, they
“ did great damage to our masts and rigging, when our
“ shot would not reach them. The ships which suffered
“ most were those the action began with ; and the
“ Grafton, Captain Collingwood ; the Cornwall, Captain
“ Edwards ; and the Lion, Captain Cornwallis. The
“ spirited example of Vice-admiral Barrington, with the
“ former three, exposed them to a severe fire in making
“ the attack ; and the latter three happening to be to
“ leeward, sustained the fire of the enemy’s whole line
“ as it passed on the starboard tack. The Monmouth
“ likewise suffered exceedingly, by Captain Fanshaw’s
“ having bore down in a very gallant manner, to stop the
“ van of the enemy’s squadron, and bring it to action :
“ but from the very smart and well directed fire kept up
“ by these ships, and others that were engaged, I am
“ convinced they did the enemy great damage, although
“ their masts, rigging and sails, appeared less injured

“ than ours. The four ships last mentioned, with the
“ Fame, being so disabled in their masts and rigging as
“ to be totally incapable of keeping up with the squadron,
“ and the Suffolk appearing to have received considerable
“ damage in an attack made by Rear-admiral Rowley
“ upon the enemy’s van, I took in the signal for chace,
“ but continued that for close engagement, formed the
“ best line which circumstances would admit of, and kept
“ the wind, to prevent the enemy from doubling upon us
“ and cutting off the transports, which they seemed in-
“ clined to do, and had the latter very much in their
“ power, by means of their large frigates, independant
“ of ships of the line. The French squadron tacked to
“ southward, about three o’clock in the afternoon; and I
“ did the same, to be in readiness to support the Grafton,
“ Cornwall, and Lion, that were disabled, and a great
“ way astern: but the Lion being likewise much to lee-
“ ward, and having lost her main and mizen topmasts,
“ and the rest of her rigging and sails being cut in a very
“ extraordinary manner, she bore away to the westward
“ when the fleets tacked; and to my great surprise, no
“ ship of the enemy was detached after her.

“ The Grafton and Cornwall stood towards us, and
“ might have been weathered by the French, if they had
“ kept their wind, especially as the Cornwall, which was
“ farthest to leeward, had lost her maintop mast, and
“ was otherwise much disabled: but they persevered so
“ strictly in declining our chance of close action, not-
“ withstanding their great superiority, that they con-
“ tented themselves with firing on these ships, when
“ passing barely within gun-shot, and suffered them to
“ rejoin the squadron, without one effort to cut them off.
“ The Monmouth was so totally disabled in her masts and
“ rigging, that I judged it proper to send directions in
“ the evening to Captain Fanshaw, to make the best

“ of his way for Antigua; and he parted company accordingly.

“ When we were close in with St. George’s bay, the colours were seen flying upon the fort and other batteries, which left no doubt of the enemy being in full possession of the island. To dislodge them was impracticable, considering the state of the two fleets; I therefore sent orders to Captain Barker, the agent, to make the best of his way with the transports to Antigua or St. Christopher’s, whichever he could fetch, intending to keep the king’s ships between them and the French squadron, which at the close of the evening was about three miles to leeward of us, and I had no doubt, would at least be as near in the morning; for although it was evident, from their conduct throughout the whole day, that they were resolved to avoid a close engagement, I could not allow myself to think, that with a force so greatly superior, the French admiral would permit us to carry off the transports unmolested: however, as his squadron was not to be seen next morning, I concluded that he had returned to Grenada.”

Although the enemy lost a vast number of men more than our fleet, and although they were so greatly superior, that not to have had a victory was undoubtedly a disgrace to their commander, still the French court, with its systematic dereliction of truth, made such a representation of the transaction at home, that without misstating the facts, it had the semblance and effect of being the report of a great triumph. We have fortunately obtained a copy of the account published at Paris on the 18th of September, and which was as follows:

“ The king’s fleet having kept the same anchorage from the 2d of July, the fort of Hospital Morne having been

“ taken by assault in the night between the 3d and 4th,
“ we did not change a position that was more to wind-
“ ward than that in the bay. The royal fort in the town
“ of St. George, and the colony, having been surrendered
“ at discretion the same day by Lord Macartney, several
“ ships, which the foul ground in Molenier creek had
“ caused to drive, had stretched as far as the bay, to find
“ better anchorage.

“ The 5th of July, having notice that the English fleet
“ had been seen off the island of St. Vincent, steering
“ south, at day-break a signal was made for our fleet to
“ weigh, and then another signal to prepare for action.

“ At half-past one in the afternoon, the signal for ral-
“ lying having called back the ships which had driven
“ and were under sail, they worked up against the
“ strength of the contrary currents. If the wind had
“ been to the south-east, the fleet would have got under
“ sail directly, to meet the enemy, and bring on a battle,
“ which was more desired than expected; but as the
“ winds were from east-north-east, the currents and the
“ calm would have driven us farther off, and most likely
“ have thrown us to leeward, so far as to have made it
“ difficult to beat up again, it was therefore thought pre-
“ ferable to pass the night at anchor.

“ The 6th of July, at half-past three in the morning,
“ our frigates, who were looking out to windward, made
“ signal of the approach of the English fleet. The signal
“ for getting under weigh was immediately made; the
“ repetition of the signals from the frigates made it
“ necessary to renew the signal for sailing at a quarter-
“ past five. In a quarter of an hour more the day
“ dawned, and the enemy's fleet appeared to windward,
“ at about a league and a half distant, coming down
“ upon us with all sails set. Some of our ships being
“ still at anchor, we made signals for them to cut their
“ cables. We all got under weigh. Signal was made at

“ three quarters past five, to form the nearest line on the
“ starboard tack: the enemy approaching, it became
“ necessary to form our line of battle as speedily as
“ possible, without paying any regard to the force or rank
“ of the ships

“ The English fleet, composed of nineteen sail of the
“ line, and a frigate to repeat signals, made a tack oppo-
“ site to our fleet. There lay to, to windward, a fleet,
“ consisting of from twenty-five to twenty-eight trans-
“ ports, which we knew had English troops on board,
“ destined for a debarkation, escorted by two ships of
“ the line and several frigates. The sea was smooth, and
“ we had a fine breeze during the course of the day. At
“ half-past seven, the signal for engaging was thrown out;
“ the briskness of getting under weigh prevented us from
“ making a proper formation of the line.

“ Several ships being to leeward, signals were made
“ for them to work up as close to it as possible; to crowd
“ sail to get into their station, and for the van to shorten
“ sail, that both the windward and leeward ships might
“ get into line, and form a rear guard. These signals
“ were successively made till three quarters after eight.

“ It is probable that the enemy did not know of the
“ island having surrendered to us, and it is to be pre-
“ sumed that they thought they had a sufficient force.
“ They stretched along our line, which presented fewer
“ vessels to engage them than they had; yet they received
“ a fire equal to their own. As soon as they had passed
“ our line, they put on the same tack with us, and wore
“ with the wind astern. The headmost ship of their van
“ had continued on her tack as far as the opening of the
“ bay of St. George, when the forts fired on her. The
“ enemy carrying sail, and keeping as near the wind as
“ possible, was then joined by the two ships of the line
“ which had hitherto kept with the transports, and who
“ coming down full sail, got to the head of the line.

“ Three ships of the rear guard then appeared very much
“ out of order, and began to fall to leeward.

“ The rest of the English fleet got closer together, and
“ appeared to strive to get farther from our fire. At a
“ quarter-past nine, and at half-past nine, signals were
“ thrown out to form a line; but having been better ac-
“ quainted with them, they stood off at twenty minutes
“ past ten, to regain their post in the line, which still kept
“ up in the wind.

“ At forty minutes past ten, signal was made for ten of
“ our ships, which were to leeward of our line, to wear
“ and form a rear guard. The signals were repeated by
“ the frigates. Two of the ships worked up, and by
“ keeping their wind, got into the line. The fifteen ships
“ which first constituted our line, had handled very
“ roughly the van of the English, whose course, by the
“ extension of their line, and by the efforts they made to
“ keep the wind, could not affect us but through our rear
“ guard.

“ At a quarter-past twelve, the action ceased. The fire
“ had been very brisk; five English ships were greatly
“ hurt in their masts and rigging; three ships of the rear
“ guard were divided from the rest, and more were to
“ leeward. The signals made to our leeward ships to
“ tack, and form in a line, had been successively obeyed;
“ as well as could be done, and at a quarter-past two,
“ the line was completely formed. As soon as that was
“ ascertained, a signal was made to be ready to engage
“ all together. The object of this manœuvre was to
“ separate, if possible, the three ships of the English
“ rear from their main body. We continued to keep
“ on the starboard tack till three-quarters after two,
“ when being certain the preparatory signal was suffi-
“ ciently understood, the signal for the execution of the
“ whole design was then made, and the whole line

" tacked at once, without any vessel missing stays. The
 " enemy made a like manœuvre at the same time.
 " The king's fleet finding itself thus at a stand, made
 " the signal to form the line with a contrary position;
 " and the signal to crowd sail and to hold the wind were
 " successively thrown out. The leewardmost of the
 " three English ships immediately put before the wind,
 " and consequently was totally separated from the fleet.
 " If she had been chased, it is very likely that she would
 " have been taken; but it was judged proper to avoid
 " any separation of our fleet, that we might not fall to
 " leeward of Grenada, a return thither being the most
 " useful and the best proof of the advantage it had gained.
 " The two other English ships continued in the same
 " track, and making a stretch to join their own fleet, we
 " passed to leeward. The centre had received the whole
 " fire of the line, but our critical situation did not bring
 " down the English fleet, who continued to keep their
 " wind to get from us.

" Our fire during the night; the two tacks we made in
 " same water; the bad condition of some of Admiral
 " Byron's ships; his perseverance in keeping his wind,
 " when one of his ships was cut off by putting before it,
 " and when another stood in great want of assistance;
 " his retreat, his quitting the field of battle; in fine, the
 " capture of an English transport, with a hundred and
 " fifty soldiers, and a colony lost, will not leave any
 " doubt of the success of his majesty's arms."

The narrative then proceeds to state what more would
 have been the result, had other circumstances been in the
 favour of d'Estaing's fleet: but although this account
 was published for the express purpose of affording the
 court of France and the Parisians a pretext to have the
fete of a *Te Deum*, no man read it, without being sen-
 sible that the French fleet was in great consternation

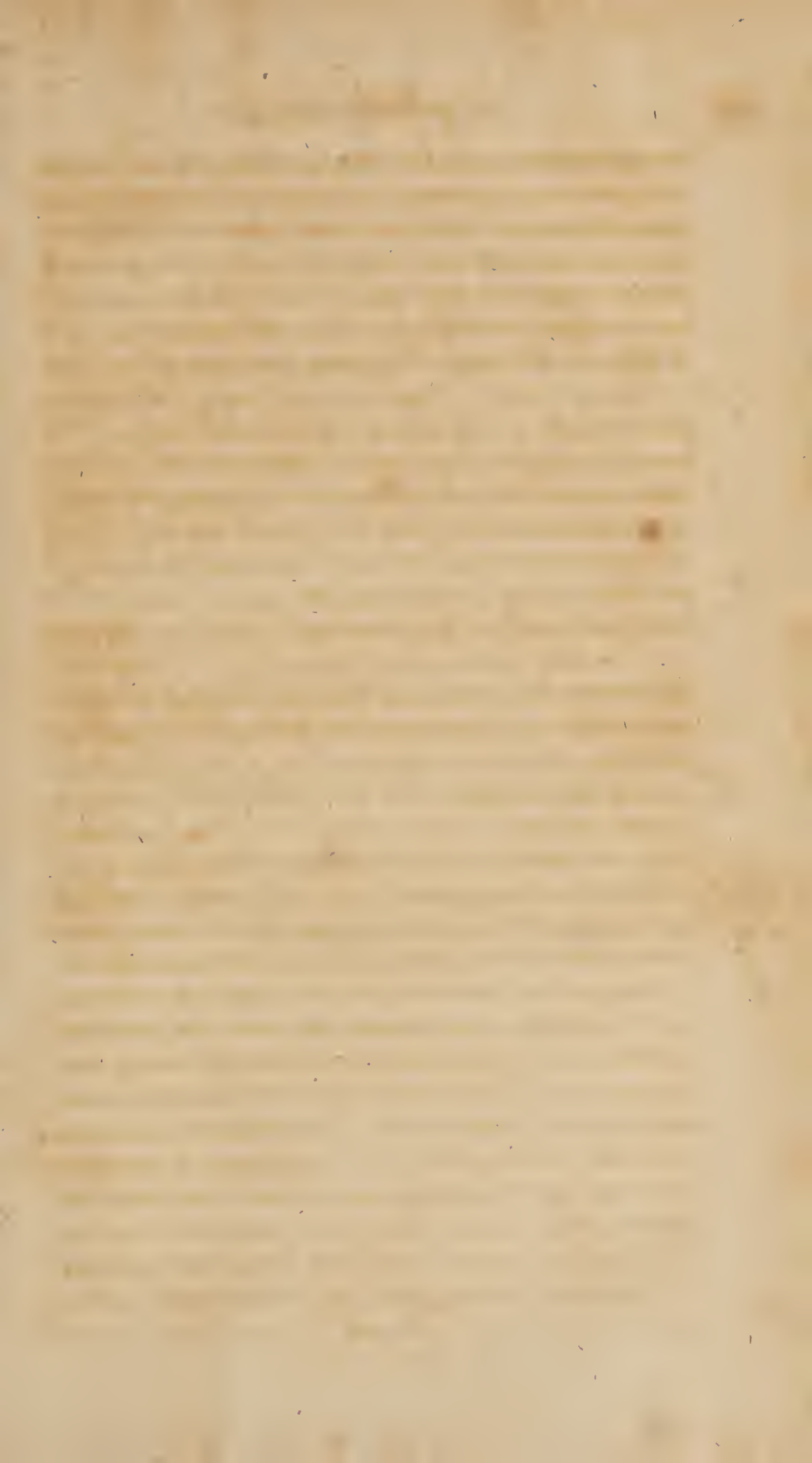
during the whole time, nor that the conquest of the colony, which is mentioned as a consequence of the victory, had actually been acquired before Admiral Byron's fleet appeared. The capture of the transport can only be regarded as an accident, and it was not the English fleet which retired, for Admiral Byron expected to have seen the French in the morning, but they had disappeared during the night.

Soon after this affair, Byron returned to England, and struck his flag from the *Princess Royal*, which had borne it from the period of his departure in the preceding year. In 1780, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; in 1786 he died, being then in the sixty-third year of his age, leaving several children by his lady, the daughter of John Trevannion, of Carhays, in Cornwall, esq.

Although the advantage of high birth and a most illustrious pedigree cannot but be regarded as fortunate circumstances, yet it will scarcely be allowed, after the perusal of this memoir, that Admiral Byron was a fortunate man: he undoubtedly possessed vigorous faculties and a clear understanding, and his talents as an officer had justly raised him to a very high rank in his profession; but so strong was the current of adversity against the objects of that ambition, which allures young noblemen into the hardships of the naval service, that the events of his whole life present him on the edge of the most imminent dangers, or withheld by an irresistible necessity from reaching the fruits of his perseverance and wonderful fortitude, when they seemed to be almost offered to his gathering. His sufferings and adventures after the loss of the *Wager*, are without any parallel in authentic biography; his voyage round the world was rendered, in a great measure, of little consequence, by that cruel sickness in his vessel, which induced him to hasten his return, rather than to explore what were then

the unknown tracks of the Pacific ocean. In the expedition to America, for the purpose of reinforcing Lord Howe, he carried with him a squadron, with which he would undoubtedly have engaged D'Estaing; but before he had made half the passage, his squadron was dispersed, and only the ship that bore his own flag arrived in sight of the enemy. Frustrated, in this instance, of that renown which it was reasonable for him to expect, and of which he was only deprived by the dispersion of his fleet, after refitting, he proceeded to the West Indies, where his conduct, though highly respectable, brought to himself comparatively but little glory; for in the great engagement off Grenada, though the management of his fleet was admirable, and though his own courage in defying the enemy was worthy of the spirit of the British navy, yet even in this he was disappointed; for the caution of D'Estaing rendered his intrepidity of no avail. Thus we see, that neither high birth, illustrious pedigree, great talents, nor the utmost fortitude of character, can ensure celebrity, unless they are accompanied with those providential circumstances, which often surround the meanest of mankind with a splendour, which excites less astonishment by its brightness, than wonder how it should have happened to adorn such characters.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.





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